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The
Worcester Historical Society
Publications

April, 1928
New Series No. 1



Published by
The Worcester Historical Society
Worcester, Massachusetts

Mass.

Looked over - \$12.50 (3 vols)

The Worcester Historical Society Publications

April, 1928
New Series No. I



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THE WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS

April, 1928

New Series, No. 1

A FOREWORD

Fifteen years ago the regular publication of the Proceedings of the Worcester Historical Society, then known as the Worcester Society of Antiquity, was suspended because of lack of funds. For several years, partly on account of the World War, the other lines of activity also lay dormant, while material for the Society's collections and articles for publication accumulated and too long lay in unorganized condition. Eight years ago the name of the Society was changed by act of the Massachusetts Legislature, and a general reorganization of our building and its contents was begun.

The time may still be distant when publication on any considerable scale can be resumed, but to its friends—those at home and those scattered throughout the country—the Society wishes to extend its expressions of appreciation for their loyal support during a trying period.

Our special Worcester library of historical, biographical and genealogical material has been brought into good working condition through thorough classification and convenient shelving. The collection of manuscripts has been catalogued and is now being placed in suitable cases. The general library and the large collections of Worcester pictures, maps and broadsides have in a similar way been made easily available for purposes of study. The museum is now an orderly and rapidly growing part of our equipment as an educational institution, and is much visited by people from near and far. Members and friends of the Society should take much satisfaction in these results of their cooperation, and its cordial continuance is earnestly desired by those immediately responsible for the carrying out of the task undertaken by the founders of more than a half-century ago.

This small publication, now issued, contains a few of the many papers read before the Society in recent years. By its means interested people may, it is hoped, be kept somewhat acquainted with our work and informed concerning our greatly improved and rapidly growing library and museum. Other numbers will follow if, or as, our resources permit.

U. WALDO CUTLER,
Executive Director.

664000

WORCESTER AND ITS NEWSPAPERS

I can hardly conceive anything more full of human and historic interest than a reasonably comprehensive collection of the newspapers of a city like Worcester with a long and varied life behind it, which these mirror incidentally and informally in the local happenings, casual social notes, advertisements, etc., with a fidelity, minuteness, and completeness impossible to the purposely historic narrative.

Weeks of delving in the accumulation of Worcester newspapers in the collections of this Society, culling, sorting and arranging, have lured me to various lines of thought of great interest—fleeting glimpses of the great panorama of world movements, yet so as seen through the little window of this community, and the more interesting and absorbing, because closer and more intimate, a pageant of the life of Worcester unfolding through more than a century of quiet and stress, dreamy, slow-moving growth and stormy change. But my interest and imagination have been most excited and held by the *autobiographies of themselves* discoverable in these many papers, most of them now dead—having died as infants, in lusty youth or venerable age, by accident, disease, starvation or even violence. Their life histories, circumstances of birth, sympathy and support, coldness and neglect or active opposition, read in the light of the papers themselves before us, so that we may see whether the candidate for favor was homely or comely, amiable or surly, peaceable or pugnacious, wise or stupid, or in rare instances vicious, will reveal much of the character, social, moral and intellectual of the City and its people through these years. Though the newspapers undoubtedly did much to shape the community, yet the community had an even greater power in shaping its papers, in the large. Teachers they were, but a free community *selects* its teachers, and if they be not substantially to its mind it runs them out or treats them to a disciplinary ducking in the mill pond, after the manner of the old-time school district. In the long run the newspapers which are initiated, live and thrive in a community are such as the community either invites or permits to live,—and this is especially true of the formative years of the *town*, while it is still a *neighborhood*, and has not reached the diversity of interests and impersonalities of the city.

Of course with the advantages of autobiography we have here also something of its defects, as a newspaper, any more than a person, will not always tell the exact truth about itself, but in the main its testimony, because incidental and unconscious, will be reliable. And in the large what an honorable and creditable witness it is that these newspaper autobiographies bear to our City! Here have been tragedies and comedies, occasionally farces or burlesques, with an immense amount of healthy, red-blooded life and toil, and dreams a plenty, and they have all reciprocally sprung from and been woven into the fiber of the life and character of the community.

Another extensive, interesting and very important body of autobiographical material for such a study as I am suggesting lies among the other periodicals of Worcester, especially magazines, literary, social, moral and religious, professional and scientific, etc. But that is a story by itself, and not of exactly the same intimate bearings as that of the newspapers, these periodicals being in a manner intermediate between the newspapers and the books put forth in a community.

In undertaking to segregate the *newspapers* of Worcester from the whole body of its periodical publications one will experience a good deal of practical difficulty in drawing an exact line of demarcation. From the librarian's point of view even the form may sometimes be a deciding factor in the classification; the frequency of issue will also have some bearing. And even a division based strictly on the nature of the contents will have its problems, as there are few if any periodicals which devote themselves *exclusively* to news, while practically all present *some* news—it may be general, political, social, religious, commercial, or even scientific or professional news—so that the question may fairly be raised *how much* news in a periodical shall be necessary to constitute it a newspaper in distinction from a magazine. Perhaps it is reasonable to conclude that if a paper has for its *main* object the presentation of news, whether general or special, it may be classed as a newspaper, at least if its form agrees thereto.

However, though it may not be possible to classify all Worcester periodical publications beyond criticism, it is very desirable that all interested in the matter should work together toward the making of a reasonably complete and perfect bibliography of them, divided

at least into *newspapers* and *non-newspapers*. And if such a bibliology brought down to date be a desideratum, what would more naturally suggest itself than that the *Worcester Historical Society* should take the lead in obtaining it? Dr. Nichols has done excellent work in this line, brought down to the year 1848, giving a separate chronological list of the *newspapers* to that date; but for the later years there does not seem to have been anything so thorough and comprehensive attempted. Mr. Nutt's list of Worcester periodicals, though neither complete nor at all classified, affords much valuable data.

In the limits of a brief paper I can attempt but little more than to pass in hurried review before you, mainly by way of reminder, a few of the outstanding individuals and related groups of the newspapers of Worcester, with perhaps a little incidental gossip or comment, personal and impersonal, concerning them or their editors, leaving it to you to philosophize on the mutual reactions between their characters and histories and those of the community.

The outstanding Worcester newspaper, historically speaking, has been the *Spy*. Through all its vicissitudes of size, form, editorship and ownership it has been peculiarly identified with Worcester, influencing and in turn influenced by it. Indeed I know of no institution more characteristic of Worcester, at least during the earlier years, than this its oldest newspaper. Following the common habit of those days in the naming of newspapers, of affixing a double name or sub-title, Worcester would have been known as the Town of Worcester and the *Massachusetts Spy*, just as the *Republican* would have had its name coupled with that of our neighboring city of Springfield.

It was no accident that Worcester was the fifth town in this country to obtain a printing press, and was for many years a recognized leader in literary and journalistic lines. And it was no accident that Isaiah Thomas established here his printing press and his newspaper, and threw his own great personality into the life of the Heart of the Commonwealth. He came here when Boston, under the British domination, had become an impossible field for him, because Worcester was fitted for the distinction and afforded the welcome and the soil in which the forces which he represented could thrive and fulfill their mission. So for well over a century town and paper grew together, the paper being always a natural,

vital part of the expression of the personality of the unfolding community. The great modern city newspaper, a gigantic impersonal organism, is not an object of personal affectionate regard, as one's town paper may be—which is as much a neighbor as one's fellowtownsmen. Perhaps, however, it was the very qualities of the *Spy* which for a century bound it up with the intimate life of the people of Worcester that finally caused it to drop out of the field. When Worcester ceased to be the self-centered, socially homogenous *town*, and began to take on metropolitan airs and ambitions, the *Spy* reached the parting of the ways, where it must radically change its nature or pass out with the old Worcester which it had so long and so well represented. Perhaps to the lover of the old ways and relations, the passing of the *Spy* with its era may seem the kindlier fate.

When in the crisis of events about Boston the outfit of the *Massachusetts Spy* was hurriedly transferred to Worcester, just before the Battle of Lexington, Isaiah Thomas had already planned, in response to the urgent request of the Whigs of Worcester, to establish a newspaper here, to be called the *Worcester Gazette*, or *American Oracle of Liberty*. Both parts of this proposed name were subsequently used as sub-titles on the transplanted paper, but not simultaneously, the *American Oracle of Liberty*, appearing at once, and some six years later being replaced with the *Worcester Gazette*.

The *Massachusetts Spy* might almost be regarded as a native of Worcester, despite the accident of its birth in Boston, so soon was it trundled off bag and baggage to Worcester, as a healthier residence for the infant. Forty miles overland was in those days a far greater barrier than it would be at present.

The first Boston issue (of which I have a facsimile before me) bore the date of July 17, 1770, and was printed on one side only of a small sheet about 9 by 11 inches. The office of the *Spy* was secretly removed to Worcester under cover of night and with the aid of members of the Committee of Safety, Mr. Thomas himself remaining behind long enough to participate in the Battle of Lexington, proceeding to Worcester on the day after that event.

The first Worcester edition (of which also we have only a facsimile) under date of May 3, 1775, bore the heading, the *Massachusetts Spy*, or *American Oracle of Liberty*, with the legend

over it, "Americans!—Liberty or Death!—Join or Die," and contained the editor's report, from his own experience and observation, of the Battle of Lexington. A copy of this issue, now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, bears the following autograph note signed by Isaiah Thomas: "This Newspaper is the first Thing ever printed in Worcester." From this time the *Spy* continued to be published in Worcester until its final retirement May 1, 1904, with the exception of one nominal but not actual hiatus, which will be noticed below. The *Daily Spy* was started July 22, 1845. The *Weekly* appeared from time to time under the following titles:

- The Massachusetts Spy, or, American Oracle of Liberty.
Thomas's Massachusetts Spy, or, American Oracle of Liberty.
Haswell's Massachusetts Spy (For a short time in 1777).
Thomas's Massachusetts Spy.
Thomas's Massachusetts Spy, or the Worcester Gazette.
The Massachusetts Spy, or the Worcester Gazette.
The Massachusetts Spy.
The Massachusetts Spy and Worcester Advertiser (1823).
The Massachusetts Spy and Worcester County Advertiser (1827).

The nominal interruption to its publication was as follows: Owing to the passage of an act by the Legislature levying a tax on all advertisements published in newspapers, which the ever liberty-loving Thomas resisted as an encroachment on the freedom of the press, he discontinued the *Spy* for two years, and published in its stead during that time a periodical in quarto form called the *Massachusetts Weekly Magazine*, comprising four volumes, from April, 1786 to April, 1788, resuming publication of the *Spy* when the obnoxious act was repealed. I think that a comparison of the contents of the magazine with those of the newspaper preceding and following will show that the suspension of the paper is to be taken merely in a Pickwickian sense.

The intimate relation of the *Spy* to the life and growth of Worcester has been largely due to the high and virile personalities of the men who not only conducted it but were most intimately identified with it during so many years. This was a relation as different from that of the impersonal management of an up-to-date metropolitan journal to its public, as was that of "mine host" of the old-time village "house of entertainment" from that of the lordly

proprietor, and the more lordly clerk of the modern hostelry, to its patrons.

The editorial management of the *Spy* was for nearly a hundred years in the hands of three of these stalwart men, Isaiah Thomas, John Milton Earle, and John D. Baldwin, truly a mighty succession. Perhaps in the later days a change from the more personal to the impersonal highly organized and commercialized type of newspaper was inevitable, but it connotes a considerable real loss to the life of the community in the withdrawal of the direct touch. Perhaps the paper lasted as long as it was truly representative of Worcester; its memory is especially redolent of the *town*.

John S. C. Knowlton, sole editor and proprietor of the *Palladium* for forty-one years, until his death, was another notable figure among the newspaper men of Worcester who left a strong impress on the community. The *Palladium*, being a Democratic paper, was not politically representative of the majority in the community, but its editor was held in high respect and esteem both for his abilities and for his character. An anecdote illustrating his dry, incisive wit, related by Mr. Wall, will bear repeating, although no doubt familiar to many of you. Mr. Knowlton and the editor of the *Spy* had been competitors for election to the Legislature, though only the Republican had any real chance. After the election the *Palladium* announced the result as follows, says Mr. Wall. "The editor of the *Spy* has been elected to go to Boston this winter, and the editor of the *Palladium* has been elected to stay at home. *The people knew which they could spare best.*"

As in all studies in biography, the genealogical lines of these newspapers are of much interest and importance, but complex and difficult to follow, owing to frequent changes of name, intermarriages, and especially to the assumption of the same name by different parties, or perhaps the resurrection of the same party after having been decently buried. You will be following the track of a publication and will be led to its merging into one of the leading newspapers of the City, where you close your record; but the next you know you will have crossed apparently the same trail and have been led to its terminus in another of the major papers. Then taking up the investigation again you discover that the two individuals bearing the one name were not blood relations at all.

Of the two great newspaper families of Worcester for many years,

we might call one the *Spy*, *Aegis*, *Palladium* group, not stopping to dwell on other collateral branches, as the *Massachusetts Yeoman*, otherwise the *Massachusetts Yeoman and Worcester Saturday Journal and Advertiser*, which reached the *Spy* via the *Aegis* and the *Transcript*, and the *Independent Gazetteer*, which was absorbed directly into the *Spy*.

The other would be the *Aegis*, *Transcript*, *Gazette* group.

The *National Aegis*, first of the name, was started in 1801, was later united with the *Massachusetts Yeoman*, as the *National Aegis and Massachusetts Yeoman*, then merged into the *Worcester Palladium* in 1834, and finally the combination was absorbed into the *Spy*.

The *Daily Transcript*, No. 1, was the first daily newspaper published in Worcester, the first number appearing June 23, 1845, one month earlier than the first issue of the *Daily Spy*. A few years later a weekly issue was started, called the *Bay State Farmer and Mechanic's Ledger*. Both were absorbed into the *Spy* in 1847, and the consolidated paper was issued for a year as the *Daily Transcript*, when its name was changed back to the *Daily Spy*.

The second *National Aegis*, begun January 24, 1838, was merged into the *Weekly Transcript*, as the *Weekly Aegis and Transcript*.

The second *Daily Transcript* was started April 1, 1851, as the *Daily Morning Transcript*, the name soon being changed to the *Daily Transcript*, and in 1859 became an evening paper. In 1866 the daily was enlarged and the name changed to the *Worcester Evening Gazette*, and that of the weekly to the *Aegis and Gazette*.

The point to grasp in differentiating these two groups is that both the *Aegis* and the *Transcript* were related in the same degree to both the *Spy* and the *Gazette*, the *Aegis* and the *Transcript*, No. 1 contributing to the *Spy*, and the *Aegis* and the *Transcript*, No. 2 to the *Gazette*.

The *Worcester County Gazette*, January 2, 1845, which ran about two years, seems to have had no connection with the later *Evening Gazette*.

Consolidation was the shibboleth of those days, and the very interesting group of temperance papers of the Washingtonian era ran true to the prevailing form, their picturesque, not to say grotesque, names reflecting in their numerous combinations all the vicissitudes of their not very extended careers. Practically all of these

soon gravitated into the hands of that most unique and interesting lawyer-editor, Jesse W. Goodrich, by nature a journalistic reformer, genial, companionable, with unbounded enthusiasms and self-confidence, having none of the sourness or funereal gloom of the traditional reformer, but frankly enjoying his crusade and radiating his genial personality while he dealt his blows. For about ten years he dominated the field of temperance editorship in Worcester and a large adjacent territory.

The names of these papers, as I have encountered them, are as follows:

The Worcester Waterfall and Washingtonian Delegate (1842).
The Worcester County Cataract.
Worcester County Cataract and Massachusetts Washingtonian.
Cataract and Waterfall and Massachusetts Washingtonian.
Massachusetts Cataract and Worcester County Waterfall.
Massachusetts Cataract and Temperance Standard.
Cataract, Waterfall, Standard and Dew Drop.

There was also *The Reformer*, 1845, *The Sentinel and Reformer*, and some other papers, merged for a short time in the *Omnium Gatherum*, 1846.

Mr. Goodrich had the poetic passion for expression, for self-revelation, which is so characteristic of the best type of reformer, and besides the debt we owe him for his labors in the cause of temperance we are indebted to him for one of the richest bits of autobiography which I have ever seen, in his little volume issued as a memento to his kindred and friends. Beginning with a portrait which very nearly tells the whole story itself, and a "Private Preface" of wonderful frankness, we have next his complete phrenological chart, as marked by Professor O. S. Fowler himself from an examination held in Worcester, and at the end of the book the same chart in blank, which the kindred and friends for whom the memento was designed, and to whom it was personally sent by the author, were invited to detach, fill out and return to him, "together with a daguerrean, lithographic, mezzographic, engraved or some other kind of likeness of said recipient, etc."—by means of which he hoped to form "a little, select and phrenologico-portraitorial cabinet of his kindred and friends."

I thought that I would quote a characteristic sentence or two from this Preface, but, finding that the entire seven hundred and

odd words constitute but a single sentence, I have forbore to do so.

The other contents of the volume consist of compositions by the author, chiefly in verse.

The *Christian Citizen*, also called *Burritt's Christian Citizen*, started January 1, 1844, was published as a weekly for about seven years and attained a wide popularity and a large circulation for its day, reaching to 4000 copies, while under the personal management of Elihu Burritt; but when other interests took him away from its immediate control it languished and was finally sold to a New York party and entered on a new career as the *Independent*.

The *Messenger*, 1887, afterwards the *Catholic Messenger*, was the receiving reservoir for a number of Catholic papers, being consolidated with the *Argus* in 1897, with the *Observer*, as the *Messenger and Observer*, in 1898, and with the *Recorder* in 1900.

Rather peculiarly characteristic of Worcester was the considerable group of *amateur papers* which played their more or less brief parts on its hospitable stage, mostly in the forties, and again in the seventies, to the number of about fifty. I think it is hardly out of place to mention these here, though few of them were strictly newspapers.

I believe the first in the field, and for only one issue, was *The Evergreen*, under date of January 8, 1840. Some of the youthful editors acquired in their amateur work journalistic knowledge and experience of which they afterwards made good use. I noted one who was evidently picking up some valuable lessons in business and financial management, probably from sad experience, as he gave notice in his paper that "unused" one cent stamps would be accepted in payment of subscriptions.

The list of these amateur papers in our files is as follows:

The Worcester Amateur.

The Amateur Gazette.

The Amateur Tribune.

The Bay State Gem.

The Bay State Pearl.

The Boys' and Girls' Correspondent.

The Boys' Favorite.

The Boys of Worcester.

Chronopax.

The Breeze.
The Clio.
Daily News.
The Dwarf.
Forget Me Not.
The Go-Ahead.
Heart of the Commonwealth (1855).
Heart of the Commonwealth (1881).
The Mayflower.
The Minute Gun.
Ours.
The Owlet.
The Peerless Review.
The Philippic.
The Stamp Reporter.
The Trombone.
The Tyro.
The Union.
The Weekly Star.
The Yankee.
Young American.

The *Worcester Telegram* and the more recent files of the *Worcester Evening Gazette* belong to a different and later era than that of the other newspapers which we have been considering. The *Telegram* was begun Nov. 30, 1884, as the *Sunday Telegram*, the *Daily* being launched in 1886. Now the combination of the *Morning Telegram* and the *Evening Gazette* dominates the entire field of Worcester Republican newspaperdom.

Perhaps in this brief and fragmentary survey of the newspapers of Worcester enough has been presented and indicated to arouse the imagination to the immense aggregate force, intellectual and moral, which these together with the often remarkable personalities of their editors have brought to the shaping of the life and civic character of our City. If to this be added all the other periodicals of the City, including those put forth by the schools and colleges, churches and associations and organizations of all sorts, the mind is fairly staggered at the vast forces involved.

The number of titles of these newspapers in the files of this Society is about one hundred and ten, not including the juveniles.

This is of course somewhat greater than that of the really distinct papers, as I have listed the various titles under which the same paper may have appeared.

To revert in closing to the thought with which I began, I am convinced that a community which has invited, encouraged and supported and proven congenial soil for the development of such a list of newspapers and newspaper men as has Worcester, and, on the other hand, has refused to permit to thrive in its midst certain others, is, in its essential and matured character indeed "no mean city." The *Worcester Historical Society* is to be congratulated on the possession of at least specimens of so many of these papers, and it is to be hoped that its members will make it a matter of pride to extend the collection until it shall be as nearly complete as possible.

FRANK COLEGROVE

STEPHEN C. EARLE
ARCHITECT AND CHURCHMAN
January 4, 1839 to December 12, 1913

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY
REAR ADMIRAL RALPH EARLE, U. S. N.

"If you would see his monument look about you."

In the early thirties, among the Leicester hills, at what is known as Mulberry Grove, or Mannville, resided Amos S. Earle and his wife, Hannah Carpenter of Uxbridge, Massachusetts. Mr. Earle was a manufacturer of hand cards and satinets, his factory being located at the intersection of Earle and Mannville Streets in Leicester township. Their home was a very bare and plain affair, but was situated upon a part of the original tract acquired in 1717 by Ralph Earle, the great-grandfather of Amos, from the aborigines. This Ralph Earle had come from Dartmouth, Rhode Island, when forty-seven years old, and made his home in Leicester the remainder of his life. The English forebears of the family were Saxons dwelling prior to the Norman Conquest in Beckington, Somerset County, England.

Stephen Carpenter Earle was the eldest son of Amos S. and Hannah Carpenter Earle, being born on January 4th, 1839. His early youth was that of the usual country boy.

During his boyhood days Stephen often waded in the rapid waters of pretty Kettle Brook. It was in this stream that Thomas Earle, one of his ancestors, a maker of guns of exquisite workmanship, placed the one he had finished for General Washington. Loaded and primed, the gun remained in the water all night, the muzzle alone being above the surface. When tested next morning, the gun fired as if just loaded with powder and shell. Upon the gun being presented to General Washington, the latter noticed that it was marked with the gunmaker's name, "Thomas Earl." General Washington, upon reading this, said, "Mr. Earle, your

name is not correctly spelled, E-a-r-l is a title of nobility; you should add an *e* to it."

Stephen attended the old Mulberry Grove School where in those days many Earles and Southwicks were pupils. The Earles were many, and it was said that out of forty pupils twenty-one were the descendants of Ralph Earle, who had owned all the land from Asnebumskit to Mannville at one time.

He was brought up as a Quaker attending the small Friends Meeting House in Mulberry Grove, where in 1739 the first meeting house was built. The meetings, though held twice, on "first day" and "fifth day" mornings, were strictly silent, and seldom did one of the little company feel called to exhort or appear in supplication, so that a sermon or prayer was heard only when some traveling friends visited the little building. Charles Hadurn later became the preacher, acquiring quite a renown in this line.

His father, Amos S. Earle, died at the early age of 53, on January 19th, 1853, leaving Stephen, then a boy of fourteen, the eldest of a good New England country family of five boys and two girls.

Upon his father's death, he, at the age of fourteen, went to Worcester, living with his father's cousin, Edward Earle, one of Worcester's mayors, in the comfortable home on Summer Street. He remained here for several years after reaching his majority, attending the public schools, and later the Friends School of Providence, R. I.

Always attracted by the beauty of churches and buildings, he early developed his enthusiasm for architecture. As a start in this profession he took a course in architectural design in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and received his practical training in offices in New York and Worcester. In New York he was in the hands of Calvert Vaux, a very prominent architect of the period.

The fact that he was a Quaker did not permit him to remain at home in the trying days when the Union was imperiled. Saying that he was going to fight *for* peace, he enlisted, with others who left school, farm, desk, and shop for the firing line, in the Federal army, being assigned, in August, 1862, to Company C of the 51st Regiment. He served under General Foster in North Carolina as a surgeon's clerk or ward master, being in the Goldsboro expedition and the Battle of Whitehall. He was released after eleven

months of service, having been incapacitated for the Army by exposure in the field.

He was then connected for a year with the Hoosac Tunnel as a draftsman.

In 1865 and 1866 Mr. Earle spent seven months on a tour of observation abroad, studying the finest specimens of the several orders of architecture in Europe.

After his return from Europe he entered into partnership with James E. Fuller under the name of Earle and Fuller.

In 1869 he married Miss Mary Louisa Brown, the daughter of Albert and Mary Eaton Brown of Worcester, settling in a pleasant home at 22 Kendall Street at the corner of Hanover (now Clayton) where he lived until very shortly before his death.

All his children were born in the Kendall Street home. They were:—

Charles B. Earle, born on July 18, 1871. He attended Harvard University, graduating in 1894, later teaching at Milton Academy for eight years and is now a real estate man with business in Boston.

Ralph Earle, born on May 3, 1874, attended the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1896. He was appointed Chief of Ordnance in the Navy, with rank of Rear Admiral, on December 23rd, 1916, and held that position during the entire war with Germany.

Richard B. Earle, born on May 29, 1876, graduated from Worcester Polytechnic Institute and took up a postgraduate course at Harvard, and then served as a leading chemist with the Hood Rubber Company until early in 1919, when he became a chemist of the Agawam Dye Company, located in North Attleboro, Mass. He then moved from Cambridge and made his home in Providence, Rhode Island.

Ruth S. Earle, born on December 17, 1882, attended Mt. Holyoke College. She married on March 15, 1905, Nathan M. Southwick. They make their home at Maple Hill Farm, Leicester, Mass.

Edward Earle, born on November 27th, 1889, attended Worcester public schools, and then Clark College and the Revenue Cutter School, after which he engaged in various business lines. On June 20, 1917, he enlisted in the United States Marine Corps, as a private, rising to rank of second lieutenant, and seeing service on the U. S. S. *S. S. Wyoming* in the North Sea in the war with Germany.

All Saints Church on Pleasant Street is a lasting monument to Mr. Earle while a member of the firm of Earle and Fuller. This firm was quite successful, leaving Worcester many fine looking buildings. In 1874 or 1876, the partnership was dissolved, Mr. Earle continuing alone until 1891.

Mr. Earle continued his Quaker worship until shortly prior to his marriage, when he joined the Protestant Episcopal Church, attending All Saints Church, the design of which had been his and whose erection he had supervised. This dignified Gothic structure remains as one of the noblest monuments to Mr. Earle. Here he was a parish official. He was an earnest parishioner, a deeply religious man, and a lay reader in the church or its missions frequently.

A great number of the parishioners of All Saints Church residing in the vicinity of Lincoln Square, feeling that there was need of another Episcopal church in Worcester, formed a Sunday School in that locality, March 11, 1883, Mr. Earle being its superintendent, secretary, and treasurer. Land upon which to erect a church was bought April 21, 1884, on Lincoln Street; and, on July 5, 1884, the corner stone of St. John's Church was laid. The church was designed by Mr. Earle and remains one of the prettiest little edifices in Worcester County. It is Gothic, and gives a fine impression of warmth and beauty. The church was completed and the first service held on Christmas 1884. Mr. Earle was treasurer of the parish for practically the entire period of its existence till his death, and senior warden for fifteen years, being first elected to that post in 1887.

Church design was always his specialty and he was uniformly most successful in this branch of his profession. One of the talks he loved to give was on the cathedrals of England, as the details of all he knew well.

The Worcester churches of his design are principally these:—All Saints, Central, Pilgrim, St. Matthew's, Union, South Memorial Unitarian, St. Mark's, together with smaller ones, such as St. John's. Crowning Leicester Hill is the spire of the Congregational Church designed by him.

From 1872 to 1885 Mr. Earle maintained an office at Pemberton Square, Boston, Massachusetts, spending a portion of his time in

that city, until he found it necessary to apply himself exclusively to the Worcester field.

In Worcester there are such buildings as the Free Public Library, the Worcester Art Museum, and the buildings of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, which occupy one of the main points of vantage in the picturesque city.

As one traverses the business section of Worcester, there are many buildings that call to mind the life work of Mr. Earle, such as the MacInnes Company's building, the Clark block, the old Peoples Savings Bank, and wandering out Main Street one sees the main building of Clark University.

On the hills one sees the stone towers which he designed as an addition to the City's park system, a system so typical of Worcester that it needs emphasis. For we recall with pride that Elm Park was the first free park in any city of our Union, and that Worcester really is the initiator of the municipal park systems, which now have reached such fine proportions and developments throughout the United States, one of the most beautiful of these parks being the Fenway Park systems of Boston.

Not all of his work was restricted to Worcester, however, as some of his largest undertakings were in other cities of New England. On his trips of supervision to his buildings under construction, he loved to take one of his sons as a companion.

The Park Church and the Slater Memorial, together with the rehabilitation of the wonderful Slater homestead, all in Norwich, Conn.; the Slater Library at Jewett City, Conn.; the Rogers Library at Bristol, R. I.; the Iowa Library at Grinnell; the library and chapel of the Agricultural College at Amherst, Mass.; the Goodnow Memorial Library at Princeton, Mass.; the Lyon Memorial Library at Monson, Mass.; the Damon Memorial Library at Holden, Mass.; and the Town Library, at Norton, Mass.; were designed by him.

In North Conway, N. H., the Congregational Church, erected as a memorial to the Rev. Dr. Merriman, was one of his designs. In Digby, Nova Scotia, stands a small church, mute testimony to his handiwork.

Even in South Africa we can find a trace of Mr. Earle's interest in church missions, for at Wellington, Cape Colony, Goodnow Hall stands as one of his works.

For long years he was president of the Worcester Coöperative

Bank, having at the time of his death served in that capacity for five-sixths of the time the institution had been in existence. For over thirty years he was reelected to this office yearly, being opposed but once, the ballot taken on this occasion resulting in his favor by 114 to 8.

Mr. Earle was the secretary of the Rufus Putnam Historical Society, being always present at its meetings in Rutland, and drawing up the description of the homestead and its history.

For sometime he was treasurer of the local Y. M. C. A., and prominently interested in the Building Associations of Worcester.

Again he was an instructor in architecture in the Evening High School, where he made a lasting impression upon the minds of many young men who will carry along the torch he lighted and endeavor to emulate the lessons of his worthy deeds of a lifetime.

In 1891 Mr. Earle took Clellan W. Fisher of Vermont into partnership with him, which firm continued until 1903, the offices being in the State Mutual Building.

After this date Mr. Earle carried on his profession alone, his office at the time of his death being at 339 Main Street in the Burnside Building. His youngest son, Edward, was associated with him here for a short time.

Among his last works was the remodeling of the Dr. Bull mansion in Pearl Street, to adapt it for the use of his Grand Army lodge, George H. Ward Post 10 G. A. R., of which he was a leading dependable member, being always among those present at the regimental reunions.

Mr. Earle was not a clubman, being a man preferring his home life, although he was a member of the Quinsigamond Boat Club, the Episcopal Church Club, and the Worcester Art Society, being one of its directors. He was a member of this Society,—the Society of Antiquity. He held the post of president of the Worcester Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and was a member of the Mechanics Association for many years.

It is often said of Stephen C. Earle that during his prime he had virtually the field to himself in church architecture for Worcester and Worcester County, having designed more church edifices than any other architect outside of Boston, excelling in point of originality and graceful beauty of architectural expression. He much favored the Gothic style, but also excelled in the Romanesque.

Mr. Earle in politics was always a believer in the Republican principles, voting always that way.

He led a clean wholesome life, and was of a most modest and quiet personality, always radiating good nature, and in his actions and conduct he represented the best type of a Christian.

He bequeathed to his children those priceless possessions, sound bodies and minds, and happiness with splendid health. Physically, Mr. Earle was short in stature but exceptionally strong, wiry and muscular, being in vigorous health to his death at the age of 74 years, 11 months and 7 days.

Mr. Earle on one rainy Sunday, snow and slush underfoot, contracted pneumonia from exposure. He was taken to Memorial Hospital, where he died shortly after one a.m., December the twelfth, 1913. His funeral was held in St. John's Episcopal Church on December 14th. He had chosen to be buried in the old Quaker Cemetery at Mannville in Leicester, in the country where his family had lived for seven generations. So now he sleeps in quiet under the big pines and chestnut trees amid the beautiful Leicester hills so well beloved by him.

The following resolution passed by the Worcester Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, called in special session to take action upon the death of its president, testifies to the position Mr. Earle held in the community:

“RESOLVED, that we, members of the Worcester Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, wish to express our personal grief at the death of our friend and associate, Stephen C. Earle. His long and honorable career as an architect and as a citizen has spoken for itself and merits the highest praise of the profession and of the community in which he lived and worked. As fellow architects, we shall always hold his work in greatest esteem and his personal influence in highest veneration. In his death, we, as a body, and as individuals, have suffered a loss beyond expression. He was our leader in all professional matters, and he was our friend in every personal association. Our loss is second only to those to whom he occupied a still more intimate family relationship.

“RESOLVED, that this expression of our love and appreciation be spread upon our records and conveyed to his family, to whom we tender our most heartfelt sympathy.”

In closing this narrative I thank you sincerely for the opportunity afforded me of placing the short biography of my father before you and also of placing it in your archives.

Respectfully,

RALPH EARLE,

Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy,
Chief of Bureau of Ordnance.

Washington, D. C.,
March 12, 1919.

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

At the mention of Friends in America the mind of the hearer turns almost automatically to Pennsylvania. Even had President Sharpless not given us his delightful "Quaker Experiment in Government," Americans could hardly be blamed for regarding Philadelphia as the first important expression of the religious and social life of the Friends in the present United States, although neither city nor state has proved to be the fulfillment of their political ambition or their religious hopes.

Much of the attention paid to Philadelphia is deserved but she was not the first refuge which Friends had in America. Fifty years before the city on the Delaware was founded, Friends had landed in Massachusetts, and nearly thirty years before William Penn had established his settlement Anne Austin and Mary Fisher, the scouts of the Quaker army of missionaries, had reached Boston (1656). They came from England by way of the Barbadoes, and leaving four thousand of their fellow believers in captivity in Britain they and their companions found a refuge in New England.

The first settlement of Friends in the Middle Colonies was at Burlington, N. J., in 1674. Penn and his companions bought East Jersey in 1676. Penn's grant of Pennsylvania was obtained in 1681 and not until 1683 did he make his famous treaty with the Indians. The first Quaker Meeting in New York was in 1710 but from 1650 to 1652 Nicholas Easton, a Friend, had been governor of one of the four New England colonies; in 1675 John Easton was writing a narrative of King Philip's War, and Ralph Earle, the founder of one of Worcester's most pronounced Quaker families, had been forty years in America and was a prominent citizen of Portsmouth, R. I.¹

Does the expression "Army of Missionaries" seem a misnomer for the Friends who came to America in the 17th century? Today we recognize that our missionaries, perhaps as opposed to arms as were the Friends, have done as much as any group of Americans to develop trade and to establish the prestige and influence of the United States in Asia, and it is upon the foundation of a brotherhood

¹ See: Pliny Earle, Ralph Earle and His Descendants, Worcester, 1888, pp. 492 and the noteworthy collection of Earle mss. in the Worcester Historical Society.

of mankind that the development of the world toward freedom from selfishness and the advancement of justice must be erected. It was a long and difficult path in Anglo-Saxon history from 1656, when the first Friends reached the New England as exiles from the Old, to 1836 when the Yearly Meeting at London could write with no danger of persecution:

"We have received epistles from our Friends in Ireland and from each of the Yearly Meetings in America, and have felt that it is good for us thus to have our dear brethren brought to our affectionate remembrance."² Later progress has been more satisfactory because of the rapidity with which it has been gained, but it must not blind us to the conditions faced in the 17th century. Perhaps all the bigotry was not confined to one faction. Nearly three centuries ago Roger Williams wrote of the Friends in New England that where they are "only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come." In the theocracy of the seventeenth century the position taken by this group of people, theologically and politically, was well adapted to arouse hostility in America or in Europe. Neither side of the Atlantic was willing to strip all formality from religion, to regard the Sabbath as but the first day of seven and to abandon the belief that it was a duty to take up arms for the common defence. The 20th century indeed held with considerable tenacity to similar if not identical rules of conduct when armies against the German and Turk were necessary, and not all parties to the allied resistance against the Germans during the World War were without territorial ambition. Representatives of Quaker families indeed are not lacking among those who have fought on land and sea to uphold the Anglo-Saxon ideals of freedom.

Persecution was the natural lot of the Quakers in the New England of 1656, but during the following twenty years the denomination won a practical victory over the Puritan theocracy, and had established in Rhode Island and the District of Maine two settlements with strongholds of faith and works where they could "declare themselves freely" of "their pernicious sayings" and give respect to the rights of individual judgment in spiritual matters.

² The quotation is from the *Spy* published at Worcester, August 24, 1836. The differences between Puritan and Friend in early Colonial Massachusetts gave Whittier the theme for his poem "The King's Missive."

Not all the Friends, however, approved a refusal to defend the home against hostile attack. Thus in 1675 John Easton³ wrote that "Several men, some whereof are Quakers, will not go out on command and for their Disobedience thereunto, are forced to run the Gantelop." Easton was out of sympathy with the rule of the Mathers in Massachusetts and was averse to fighting in general, but he seems to have recognized that there were exceptions to all rules and that defence of one's home was an exception which proved the more general rule of restraint from combat. The fact that Haverford College had more than half its senior class enlisted under the U. S. flag before June 17, 1917, and four-fifths of the same class in war service within a year of their graduation seems to show this College of the Friends in the 20th century of the same opinion with Easton.

Other Quakers were more literally non-combatant. Among them was Thomas Maule of Salem who according to Cotton Mather in 1702, "hath exposed unto the Publick a Volume of nonsensical Blasphemies and Heresies, wherein he sets himself to Defend the Indians in their Bloody Villianies, and Reviles the Countrey for Defending itself against them."⁴ At a time when the term "conscientious objector" is frequently used and variously explained it is interesting to note that America of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries had the same problem to face. Then and now Friends would aid liberally in any kind of war work save the actual bearing of arms. In charitable and medical work, in life-saving, as distinct from life-taking, they are leaders. Massachusetts history gives frequent opportunity for testing not only the willingness but the ability of men to fight, and we shall see that Worcester County has had both free or fighting Quakers and others of the pacifist group. Among the Anti-Slavery leaders of the middle 19th century and in one sense responsible for a war, few persons ranked above Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelley, his wife, two prominent citizens of Worcester.

Before describing the history of the Friends in Worcester County and City it should be said that the local movement received its impetus from the Quaker headquarters in Rhode Island. Many

³ John Easton was Deputy Governor of Rhode Island, a Friend himself and a son of Nicholas Easton, a Friend who came to Ipswich, Mass., in 1634 and died in Newport, R. I. after having been Governor of the Colony.

⁴ This passage is in Mather's "Decennium Luctuosum."

individuals came from the vicinity of Boston or even further away. Some came almost directly from England but family descent was not the foundation of the visible church although it may have been the root of inner faith. With the exception of Bolton the founders of the Worcester County Societies came from Rhode Island. Throughout the Worcester County records of the Friends we find constant reference to the Smithfield, R. I. Meeting, and it was by direction of the Rhode Island mother that the Quaker churches of Mendon, Uxbridge, Leicester and Worcester were built. Not until July, 1783 was the Rhode Island connection weakened by a division of the Smithfield Monthly Meeting and the formation of a separate Monthly Meeting for Worcester County and vicinity under Mendon-Uxbridge leadership, and even then the superiority of the Smithfield Quarterly Meeting was acknowledged. Mendon was the Worcester County town where the Quakers first took definite root. Many original settlers were of this religious persuasion and in 1729 the earliest Friends' Meeting House was erected. The first statement of the Smithfield Meeting concerning the matter is in a note dated 10th of the 7th mo. 1729 and runs as follows: "The Undertakers of Mendon Meeting House are desired to bring in an account to next Monthly Meeting of their proceedings therein." The only other record which I have found states that on "The 4th of the 12th month 1729, Samuel Thayer having balanced his account about Mendon Meeting House there is due him the sum of £9 12s 7d."

This house was used by the Friends for worship regularly until March, 1841, when, once more by direction of the Smithfield Meeting, services were discontinued. The house stood until 1850 when it was taken apart and used to build a station on the Providence & Worcester R. R. at Northbridge. Meanwhile another house had been erected in 1812 known as the South Mendon (Blackstone) Meeting and in 1849 the first Quarterly Meeting was held with the Worcester Society. In the Annals of Mendon for August 25, 1732, there is given "A list of the Quakers' names that are freed by law from paying any Rates Towards the Support of our Minister or the Building of any Meeting House." Ten names are on this list, that of Moses Aldrich, the grandson of George Aldrich, an English emigrant, being placed at the head. The "Testimony" of Smithfield Monthly Meeting regarding Mr. Aldrich states that "he was born

in Mendon 4th mo. 1690, united himself with Friends about the 21st year of his age and four or five years afterwards engaged in the service of the ministry, in which work he was well approved."

In 1722 Mr. Aldrich visited the Barbadoes, and eight years later most of the seaboard colonies of America as far south as the Carolinas. In 1734 he retraced the path by which we have noted the Quaker missionaries coming to Massachusetts, going first to the Barbadoes and a little later spending nearly two years in Great Britain and Ireland "in the service of truth," as the Smithfield records term it.

Second on the list is Samuel Thayer, whom we have already noticed as reporting to Smithfield concerning the erection of the first Mendon Meeting House, and who had a share in the erection of the Leicester church. A similar list of persons excused from ministerial votes is given in the Mendon Annals for December 20, 1741 (8 names), and this record states in addition that the land of one Nicholas Cook of Bellingham is excluded also. The Annals for August 30, 1756 give a list of the Quakers in the town comprising 26 names. It is attested by Moses Aldrich, and the surnames Aldrich (4) Cook (3) Gaskill (3) and Southwick (4) make up over half the list. The name of Josiah Ball, certified as belonging to the Anabaptist Church in Leicester and hence not reckoned in the Mendon Quakers, shows the connection between the two communities.

In 1758 (March 27) a "list of the names of those called Quakers within the Military Companies of Mendon" appears in the Annals. Thirty-three persons are here mentioned of which the Aldriches (6), Cooks (4) and Southwicks (7) furnish half, without the aid of the Gaskills (2) or Thayers (3), two other prominent Quaker families. Here at least, if not in King Philip's War of the previous century, the free or fighting Quaker came into prominence. Most of the Quaker families attending the Mendon church were residents of the western part of the town later known as Uxbridge. This became an independent township June 23, 1727, and later gave its name to the conference to which the Leicester-Worcester church belonged.

When Uxbridge was set off from Mendon, however, it abandoned the parent town's policy of tolerance towards the Friends in religious matters. At a town meeting held in March, 1728, it was voted that Quakers should not be freed from taxation levied for

the support of the Orthodox church. Because of this ruling and the hostile spirit shown, the Friends living in Uxbridge continued their connection with their Mendon co-religionists and joined in the erection of their church building in 1729. They seem to have limited their local services to gatherings held at various times in private houses so that not until 1770 did they purchase land on which to erect a house of worship of their own. In the fourth month of that year, the Smithfield Monthly Meeting ordered a Meeting House to be built—thirty-five feet long and thirty feet broad. During the fifth month, 1771, Adam Harkness, William Buffum and David Steere reported the whole cost of building the brick meeting house to amount to £206, 8s. 1d.

In 1766 the Meeting had authorized an earlier house for Uxbridge in the section of the town which became Northbridge and land was purchased in 1773. Additional land was obtained in 1817, but the meetings ceased later, and as this branch of the Mendon-Uxbridge fellowship has had no essential connection with the Worcester church it deserves no more than a passing mention at this time.

In July, 1783, the Massachusetts communities of Uxbridge, Leicester and Northbridge and the congregation of Richmond, N. H. were formed into a separate Monthly Meeting under the Uxbridge name. This grouping continued many years except that Richmond was placed in another association and the meeting at Leicester removed to Worcester. The Friends at Douglas who made their land purchase in 1793 were also admitted to the Uxbridge federation as were those of Pomfret, Conn., which was granted a week-day meeting in 1815, but since the Leicester meeting continues the direct line of descent from the Rhode Island foundation to the Worcester church let us turn our attention to the history of the Society in that town. In Leicester the Worcester church was born and in the Worcester Society, the Leicester Meeting became merged, if indeed it did not become the controlling influence within that body. From Leicester came such staunch supporters of the Worcester meeting as the Earle family, well represented in the manuscript collections of this Society, and which in 1857 had sixteen members engaged in active business in this city. No account of the Worcester Society of Friends would be adequate if it omitted a description of the parent association or

some account of the family to which so many of its members belonged, for the Worcester of 1848, about to become a city, and but two years after the establishment of the Friends Meeting, had only 7,000 population, and sixteen active business men made no small addition to the city if we neglect all other members of the Quaker accession or their influence upon the religious and social character of the community.

The Earle family was first represented in America by Ralph Earle, 1606-1678, who came from Exeter, England to Rhode Island about 1634 and died at Portsmouth in that Colony. His grandson of the same name was a son of the first Ralph's son William, was born in Dartmouth, R. I. in 1660, lived for a time in Freetown, Mass., but returned to Rhode Island and was a resident of Tiverton in 1716. Early in 1717 Ralph Earle came to Leicester where he lived forty years until his death in 1757. Mr. Earle's land purchase included one large tract in what has since been called Mannville and another on the southwestern slope of Asnebumskit Hill. The Mannville plot contained the greater part of the Mulberry Grove land upon which the later Friends Meeting House was erected in 1739.

Although an important influence in the history of Leicester and most important of any among the founders of the Leicester Society of Friends Ralph Earle was not originally of that religious persuasion. Possibly none of his associates was a "birthright member" but all Friends "on conviction." Until 1721 the Earle family appears to have joined in regular meeting with other inhabitants of Towtaid as the settlement was called. Probably influenced by the Rhode Island Friends in his youth and later establishing formal connection with them, yet when David Parsons, the first pastor of the Congregational Church, was invited to Leicester, November 28, 1720, Ralph Earle was one of the committee in behalf of the town which signed the invitation. Whether the most perfect harmony continued in that church for the next decade is uncertain, but not until March 2, 1730 did Ralph Earle, with his three sons William, Robert and Benjamin, and four others declare themselves to the clerk of the town to be Friends and obtain exemption from payment of "any part of the tax for the support of the minister or ministers, established by the laws of the Province," because of conscientious scruples. Two years later, in 1732, the Leicester

Preparative Meeting was organized. The other members of this company were Daniel Hill, Thomas Smith, and Joseph and Nathaniel Potter, the owner of such part of the lot on which the Friends' Meeting House was later erected as did not belong to Robert Earle. The reason for enlarging the lot, it may be here stated, was that the horses of the congregation, let loose to feed during service, might obtain water from the brook flowing through the adjacent land of Nathaniel Potter.

In addition to the connection with Rhode Island Friends shown by the Earle emigration from that colony to Massachusetts, it is worthy of record that Ralph Earle alone of the Leicester Meeting, so far as recorded, had the privilege of seeing William Penn, most notable of American Friends, in his Philadelphia home and bringing to the Leicester-Worcester Society the inspiration resulting from this direct touch with the early Pennsylvania Meeting. From 1732 till 1739 Leicester Friends had no regular place of worship other than the homes of individual members. In the latter year the Society was much strengthened by the grant of land for a building. From the erection of this house the Society continued to hold regular meetings until 1853. In 1758 there were ten adult males among its membership of whom four belonged to the Earle family and three (Nathaniel, John and Nathaniel, Jr.) to the Potter family. The other members were Steward Southgate,⁵ Dudley Wade Swan and Benjamin Wheaton. Josiah Ball, although known as an Anabaptist, may be placed in the same group because he preferred to be classed with Friends rather than considered as a member of the Orthodox church.

This Preparative Meeting, as it was called under Quaker nomenclature, was the mother of the Worcester Society and under its auspices the local meeting was educated. Until 1837 Friends living in Worcester united with the Leicester gathering in its services at Mulberry Grove and had no separate organization, and from 1837 until 1846, as no building was erected in Worcester, a close connection with Leicester was maintained.

The original township of Leicester or "Towtaid" (1721) comprised not only the present town of that name but the town of Spencer (1753) as well as parts of Worcester (1758), Paxton (1765)

⁵Steward Southgate left the First Society of Leicester in 1745 and joined the Friends. A vote of the church to remonstrate with him for leaving was passed May 23, 1745.

and Auburn or Ward (1778). Before 1730 the people of this township worshipped together on Strawberry Hill and the church thus composed belonged to the regular New England Congregational system. The Society of Friends was a growth of the decade from 1730 to 1740 although 1732 is usually given as the year of the organization of this Preparative Meeting. It was a part of the "Yearly Meeting" for New England with headquarters at Newport, R. I. and was more directly under the Smithfield, R. I. Monthly Meeting until 1783. At that time Smithfield being raised to "Quarterly Meeting" dignity and Newport sharing with Portland, Me. the honor of holding alternately the "Annual Meeting" for New England, the Leicester branch became a part of the Mendon-Uxbridge "Monthly Meeting," where a "Meeting House" had been authorized in 1729 at the first-named town and continued after 1766 at Uxbridge with the land purchase of 1770 and 1773 and the building of the old brick Meeting House. The Uxbridge Monthly Meetings as already mentioned were held in Leicester three times a year so that the two groups of worshippers may better be called coöoperators than superior and subordinate. Particularly is this statement true for the period following 1815 when the first Monthly Meeting was held in Leicester. No Quarterly Meeting, however, has ever been held in the hill town, the Smithfield Quarterly Meeting being held in Uxbridge, Northbridge or Bolton when not held at home.

The Bolton Society has had an interesting history. It ranks in importance among Worcester County Friends with the Mendon or even the early Worcester Meeting, but it is not in the direct line of descent from Smithfield to Worcester and we cannot at this time give it the attention it deserves. We return therefore to Smithfield and Uxbridge to obtain a more intimate account of the beginnings of the Leicester-Worcester Meeting.

According to the records of the Smithfield Monthly Meeting of January 29, 1739:—"Friends at Leicester make report to this meeting that they have agreed upon a Place for Building a Meeting House at the Burying Place between Ralph Earle's and Nathaniel Potter's and this Meeting doth appoint Benjamin Earle, Nathaniel Potter, Thomas Smith and John Wells, all of sayd Leicester to take Deed of the same; and Benjamin Earle, Thomas Smith and Nathaniel Potter are appointed to undertake for Building sayd House."

A mark of the dependence if not the subordination of the Leicester Society to that of Mendon and Smithfield is seen in the fact that although the Rhode Island company later contributed four pounds directly to aid in building the house at Leicester the land was conveyed first to Samuel Thayer of the Mendon Society on August 13, 1739 and by him on December 27 of the same year to the persons appointed by the Monthly Meeting. The land was not only deeded to the parties named but "entire and without any division unto the survivor and survivors of them, and to the heirs and assigns of the survivors or survivor of them forever." In this manner the superior organization retained control of land and house in case of disagreement, for the Monthly Meeting is the lowest corporation among the Friends. The house built was "a low one-story building, twenty by twenty-two feet." It was sold and removed in 1791 to make room for the second meeting house, a building which remained until 1878, thirty years after the Leicester Friends had joined their Worcester brethren. The first building was sold to Luther Ward who moved it to the Rutland road south of Barnard Upham's holding and refitted it for his own dwelling house.

The location of the Meeting Houses in Leicester in a grove of mulberry trees and among the graves of generations of worshippers was secluded and in many ways attractive. The trees were a constant reminder of Pliny Earle their planter who added to his reputation as a manufacturer of cotton and wool hand cards, an industry begun in 1786, by here beginning the manufacture of silk. The American Card Clothing Company was formed by Pliny, Jonah and Silas, the three sons of Robert Earle in Leicester, and the Friends, through the industry of one⁶ of their number, not only began the cultivation of the silk worm by furnishing him with food but began the manufacture of silk cloth in America. The name Mulberry Grove attached to the school district in which the Earle homestead was situated long kept this fact in memory but this landmark as well as Friends Meeting has been abandoned.

The second church built in 1791 was of two stories, the upper floor being devoted to galleries on three sides with an oblong opening in

⁶ Pliny's son William B. Earle, the important man following his father's death in 1832, had carried on the business in Pliny Earle's name from 1818 and continued it until 1848. He was also prominent as a defender of the Friend *vs.* the Puritan in Massachusetts Colonial history.

the center by which connection was maintained with the worshippers below. On the lower floor were elevated seats for the ministers and elders as well as for the overseers. Between the men and the women was a partition, the upper portion of which could be opened and a general auditorium created whenever desired, but for business meetings the sexes were separated. The women as well as the men were held competent to transact business but it was considered unwise for them to sit in joint session at such times. Gov. Emory Washburn states that the Leicester Society had about 120 members in 1826. Other estimates range as high as 130 and the larger number may be regarded as a maximum for the meeting. The withdrawal of the Worcester residents who had worshipped in Leicester from 1816 or earlier to 1837 was a distinct loss to the mother church, but the withdrawal was a gradual one beginning in 1830 and not for a quarter century did the Leicester Society abandon its services.⁷

In 1855 the Friends Meeting, weakened by withdrawals and deaths, determined to join their Worcester fellows. The last minister of the Leicester Society who received recognition from the Yearly Meeting was Avis Swift, wife of Josiah Keene. She was born in Nantucket and lived in Leicester from 1812 to 1820. Thence she removed to Lynn where she continued her residence until her death. Mrs. Keene is spoken of as a woman of much religious experience as well as of superior intellectual power. She was missed greatly by her friends and her going from Leicester weakened the cause of the Friends in that town. At the close of her work Leicester Meeting numbered about 120 members. After 1830 it was never again so strong.

The Leicester Society was among the first to adopt the anti-slavery principle, Ralph Earle not only freeing his slave Sharpe

⁷ Meanwhile the Mulberry Grove Academy, "A Boarding and Day School" for young ladies, was more quickly discouraged. This Academy had been founded by Friends on May 15, 1827 and held its sessions in the house of Pliny Earle, at the corner of Mulberry and Earle Streets. A member of this leading Quaker family, Sarah Earle, was its first principal. She was succeeded by Lucy and Eliza Earle; yet despite excellent leadership the institution had but a short term of life. Weakened by the loss of students, a change of policy in 1835 under which the school, as indicated by its advertisement in the *Massachusetts Spy*, had no vacations but admitted scholars at such time as best suited their own convenience, kept it alive "under the care of Eliza Earle" for a few years. Even this plan of continuous sessions, a plan more recently adopted by some of our higher institutions, did not secure long life for the school, suffering under the handicap of the withdrawal of many of its most substantial supporters to the adjacent towns. In 1839 the Mulberry Grove Academy was discontinued after twelve years of activity.

but giving him a farm of thirty acres in 1756. Over 80 years later this question appears in the Worcester Society when Lucy Earle writing to Dr. Pliny Earle of the Leicester Meeting, December 3, 1837 states: "At the Worcester First Day Meeting of November 26, there was a colored man by the name of Roberts, one of the most respectable in Worcester, and Brother Anthony Chase (who by the way is a zealous abolitionist) took a seat beside him." For this reason, perhaps, occasional services continued to be held in Leicester until the War had settled the legal position of the negro, but in 1866 the Leicester worshippers became fully united with their Worcester fellows. This union, however, did not destroy the influence of Friends upon Leicester. If the Meeting House and the Academy had gone, the Public Library remained to benefit the town and this library owed much of its progress to a bequest of \$6,000 from Dr. Pliny Earle of Northampton, another member of that family which was the mainstay of Friends in Worcester County for so long. Dr. Earle had also, but a few years before his death, built a substantial wall around the Leicester burial ground and adorned its entrance with an iron gate, and Robert Earle a generation earlier left a fund of \$2,000 to keep the grounds in order.

In this review of the antecedents of the Quaker Meeting in Worcester the important part taken by the Friends in the history of Worcester County has been evident. Their influence upon the life and activity of our city has been as noteworthy. The names of Chase and Colton, Arnold and Hadwen come to us at once among the prominent Quaker families in Worcester and the varied activities of the members of the Earle family show the weight given by a single name. John Milton Earle (1794-1874) controlled the Massachusetts *Spy* as editor and proprietor (1835-1858), and was twice appointed postmaster by President Lincoln. Edward Earle, another member of the family, guided the city from the Mayor's office, and a third and fourth have been prominent in her industrial life. Thomas Earle's lumber yard at Washington Square and Oliver K. Earle's foundry upon Southbridge Street furnished raw material; and the architect, Stephen C. Earle, the designer of the Art Museum, All Saints and Central Churches together with many of Worcester's private residences, should not be omitted from any list of the builders of the city. As planner of Elm

Park the last-named member of this family helped to make Worcester the originator of free city parks in the United States, among which there are few more charming than the Boston Fenway, another monument to his genius. Nor should the power exerted by the Friends on the life of Worcester be estimated by the size of that religious body or the seating capacity of its Meeting House. Fundamental ideas may be clothed in differing language but the principles for which the Friends have stood in our civic as well as our national life have not changed. Rather has their practical demonstration of those principles called renewed attention to the ideals of righteousness for which the denomination has allied its forces and its influence, and hardly a branch of the city's life has failed to respond to this call.

Much was accomplished by this force before the Worcester Friends had a Meeting House. During the first half of the 19th century their only gatherings had been held in Leicester and in private houses or rented rooms in their home town. Worcester had but one organization of Friends and not until 1837 did it obtain leave to hold a "Particular Meeting." During 1846-47 a Meeting House was erected and on May 27, 1846, Worcester Meeting was formally established, regular sessions having been held for the preceding decade (1837-1846) in the Paine Block on Main Street. This building was on the site of the present State Mutual Building and the room selected for meetings was on the second floor of the block above the jewelry store of Boyden and Feno.

Before 1837 the gatherings of Friends had, as we have noted, been most frequently held with the Leicester Society but individual members of the Worcester group were frequently the hosts for social meetings. One such host was Anthony Chase who lived in a house belonging to Stephen Salisbury. Wishing a residence of his own and being unable to induce Mr. Salisbury to sell, Mr. Chase had bought land off Main Street and on the northern side of Chatham Street. It was this purchase which determined the location of the first Friends Meeting House in Worcester. In 1846 Samuel H. Colton joined Chase in presenting the Worcester body with a plot of land from this purchase at the northwestern corner of Chatham and Oxford Streets, and here a new church building was opened for services in January, 1848. It is stated in the

deed of October 10 "that a Meeting House had recently been erected" and this Society soon became an important, if not the most important, member of the Uxbridge Monthly Meeting which held five of its twelve sessions each year in the Worcester house of worship. The title to the property remained in the hands of the Uxbridge Monthly Meeting to which it had been deeded, for the local body was not yet a corporation in the Friends denomination. This legal complication prevented Timothy K. Earle, who had come to Worcester in 1844 and was a leader among the Friends, from making a bequest directly to the Worcester Meeting. As the title to the Mendon building remained in the hands of the Smithfield Meeting until the latter had been raised to Quarterly Meeting dignity, and then passed to the Uxbridge-Mendon body, so in this case it was only as a part of the Uxbridge Meeting that the Worcester Friends owned the house in which they worshipped or could receive a bequest. When therefore Mr. Earle shortly before his death on October 1, 1881, wished to present \$5,000 to the Worcester Meeting he was obliged to give the money to the Uxbridge body to be held in trust for the benefit of Worcester. As a further provision to insure the gift to the denomination in case the Worcester Meetings should cease, Mr. Earle provided that in such case the funds given should go to the New England Boarding School of the Friends at Providence, now known as the Moses Brown School where the original records of the Meeting are kept.

At the time of the incorporation of Worcester in 1848 the Yearly Meeting of the Friends in New England included the Quarterly Meetings of Rhode Island, Salem, Sandwich, Falmouth, Smithfield, Dover, Fairfield and Vassalborough. In its issue for 1850 the Farmers' Almanac first mentions the Smithfield Quarterly Meeting as holding its sessions at Worcester (on second fifth day of second month, 2nd Thursday in February). One year earlier (February, 1849) the Monthly Preparative and Quarterly Meetings had been held in Worcester and this new honor for the local body showed the advance over the Leicester gathering and gave the Farmers' Almanac its warrant for the announcement in the 1850 issue. Since that date Worcester has been the real center of Friends' worship for this section of New England. The Worcester Preparative Meeting held its own sessions continuously from its organization in 1846 to

1907 when the local meeting became in name the head of the Monthly Meeting to which it had thus far belonged. From 1849 Worcester was under Smithfield jurisdiction as a member of the Uxbridge Monthly Meeting but it outlasted all its fellow members and to its regular meetings added sessions of a Sunday School and a Society of Christian Endeavor.

The meetings in 1864 at the close of the Civil War are described by D. Wheeler Swift, one of the most prominent of Worcester's Friends of that period, as being rather quiet but by no means devoid of interest. The Meeting House was very plain there being little or no paint in its interior except such as was needed for the window sashes. Among the men prominent in religious counsels as well as in city affairs in the third quarter of the 19th century were Charles Hadwen, Edward Earle, John Milton Earle, the editor and publisher of the *Spy* (from November, 1835) and postmaster until Andrew Johnson broke with the Republicans (1862-1867), Anthony Chase, Samuel N. Colton and Timothy K. Earle, the president of the Worcester County Mechanics Association.

Among the Ministers or leaders of that period perhaps none is better remembered than John B. Daniels or Edward Earle in whose home on Summer Street the congregation sometimes worshipped when repairs were being made at the regular Meeting House; such gatherings were also held at times in the home of Samuel N. Colton.

Thirty years after this period of activity in the Friends' household a western influence was felt with the coming of Earl J. Harold as pastor from Richmond, Indiana, in June, 1904. Born in 1867 Mr. Harold and his wife, who entered heartily into the work with him, brought to Worcester a vigor which aroused renewed interest in his congregation. A good singer as well as speaker, this leader among Worcester Friends kept his people abreast with the foremost Christian workers of the city during his seven years residence until July, 1911. Among other marks of progress during this period was one of the most important events in the recent history of Worcester Meeting, an event made possible by the support of D. Wheeler Swift. This was the erection in 1907-08 of a new and convenient Meeting House, on Oxford Street at the corner of Chatham. By that year also the discontinuance of all the other Preparative Meetings which united with Worcester in the Uxbridge Meeting made a change of name most fitting, and by action of the meeting itself in

February the corporate name was changed to the Worcester Monthly Meeting of Friends.

Of the recent history of Friends in Worcester this paper recites little as its purpose is rather to describe origins. There are several persons among us who are well versed not only in the present but in the past of the Worcester Meeting. To these people the author appeals for additions of fact to what has been presented. The subject is a fertile one and an earnest request is made for relevant material that this account may be enlarged until it shall become more nearly adequate to cover the ground here sketched.

CHARLES H. LINCOLN

The
Worcester Historical Society
Publications

New Series
Vol. 1, No. 2

April, 1929



Published by
The Worcester Historical Society
Worcester, Massachusetts

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GENERAL HENRY KNOX AND THE TICONDEROGA CANNON

During the session of the General Court of Massachusetts of 1925, there was passed the following Resolution:

"That a special unpaid commission consisting of the state treasurer, the state librarian, and the Adjutant-General, is hereby established to ascertain the route in this commonwealth over which General Henry Knox brought the guns and ammunition captured at Ticonderoga to the camp of the colonial army at Cambridge in the years 1775 and 1776, and in connection therewith to estimate the number of markers necessary to forever mark said route, and the cost of the manufacture and erection of the same. Said commission shall report to the General Court its conclusions under authority hereof, together with its estimates as aforesaid and drafts of such legislation as may be necessary by filing the same with the clerk of the House of Representatives on or before December fifteenth of the current year."

The state treasurer was William S. Youngman, the state librarian, Edward H. Redstone, the Adjutant-General, Jesse F. Stevens. The Commission thus constituted did its work, as far as it could, and made its report, which is House Document No. 219, presented December 15, 1925. By vote of the House of Representatives the Commission was continued, and was given authority to arrange the markers recommended "in such a manner as to secure a permanent memorial and recognition of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the evacuation of Boston by the British."

This action taken by the General Court, followed by the action of the Commission, recalled tardily, but fixed in remembrance for all time, the first great achievement of Henry Knox, commander of the artillery regiment in the Continental Army. He was one of the earliest and best engineers of that army, friend and intimate of Washington; who organized, commanded, and served the artillery of the Continentals in all the major engagements of the Revolutionary War, except Saratoga; who was Secretary of War and the Navy under Washington, who was the chief founder of the order of the Cincinnati, who, with no previous experience in actual military undertakings, brought the artillery under his direction to a high state of perfection, who was a powerful

contributing factor in the ultimate success of the struggle that gave independence to the colonies.

Henry Knox was born in Boston, Mass., July 25, 1750. His father was of that sturdy Scottish Presbyterian line to which this country and the whole world have owed so much. John Knox, the great Reformer, was, undoubtedly, a collateral ancestor. The boy Henry, losing his father by death in 1762, was apprenticed to the well-known firm of booksellers, Wharton & Bowes, in Cornhill. Later he began business himself as a bookseller in Cornhill, and he seems to have prospered from the start. His store became a literary center for Boston, and the sale of books, together with the trade in stationery and similar supplies, and even the printing and publishing of books and pamphlets, proved profitable. With the breaking out of the Revolution, however, the store was closed and, ultimately, was plundered by the British during the siege.

The young man grew up, stalwart of build, powerful, athletic. From his early youth he was interested in military matters, and he was a keen student of Plutarch and of the other writers who treated of war, of great commanders, of affairs military. And he read widely and deeply as well in law, in the rights and duties of citizens, the privileges of Parliament, the prerogatives of the King.

The best people of Boston frequented the young bookseller's store, including many prominent Tories. Among them was Lucy Flucker, daughter of Thomas Flucker, secretary of the colony. Acquaintance between Miss Flucker and Henry Knox ripened into warm friendship and then into mutual love. In June, 1774, much against the wishes of her family, they were married.

By this time political troubles in the colony were thickening. Hutchinson, the last civil governor, was succeeded by Gage, a military governor, backed by his regiments of Redcoats. Henry Knox, always interested in politics, was now equally interested in military preparations. As far as reading and study could fit him for such duties he had made himself proficient in the theory of engineering and of artillery practice.

It is a matter of curious interest that the British Government, from the days of earliest settlement down to the outbreak of the troubles immediately prior to the Revolution, had encouraged the martial spirit among the colonists. Need enough had there

been of such encouragement. The colonists had too often been obliged to fight their own battles against the Indians and against the French, and the royal ministers might well remember Louisburg, in 1745, and the part played by Pepperell and his New Englanders in that siege, when Pomeroy and Gridley had earned their first laurels. Perhaps they recalled, though grudgingly, Washington and Morgan, and the other soldiers and officers with Braddock in his ill-fated expedition. And they could not forget the part played by the brave and resourceful Colonials who, in the French and Indian War, gave England an American empire. Long before Louisburg, however, companies of militia had been organized and encouraged in Boston. As early as 1638 the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company had been established. More than a century later, in 1754, the Cadets were organized. These two companies are flourishing today. A few years before the outbreak of the Revolution an artillery company known as The Train came into existence. Henry Knox joined it in 1768, when he was eighteen years of age. Its membership was made up of residents of the South End—for the most part young mechanics and shopkeepers. The commander was Major Adino Paddock, a carriage maker, whose shop was on Common, now Tremont, Street. Paddock was an efficient drillmaster, and he brought his company to a high degree of excellence. During the winter of 1766, a company of British artillery, bound for Quebec, was prevented by the lateness of the season from reaching its destination. It spent the winter in barracks at Castle William, remaining there until the following spring. The officers fraternized with the militia officers and gave them much valuable instruction in handling the guns. It was a curious turn of fate, therefore, that sent these British officers to school in military tactics the very men who would, in a few years, meet them on the field of battle. Paddock, it may be noted here, remained loyal to the King, later going with the retiring British from Boston to Halifax, and being rewarded with a captaincy in the British Army. Of the officers who served under him nearly a score entered the Colonial Army, serving under Gridley, or Knox, or other commanders, did good service, and attained distinction.

Paddock's company had three fine brass three-pounders, probably those mentioned in the chronicles of the time as having been brought over from England in the brigantine *Abigail*, about the

date of the organization of The Train. They had been cast in England from two old brass cannons sent over for the purpose by the General Court of Massachusetts. They bore the arms of the Province, and were spoken of as the "new pieces," when, on the King's birthday in 1768, they were fired in a royal salute during a parade in King St. When the Revolution actually broke out they were stored in a gun house in West St. Presently a sentry was stationed there to guard them. General Gage had begun to seize arms wherever he could find them, and the patriots had a suspicion that Paddock, known to be a Tory, would surrender them willingly. Six young men, therefore, headed by the schoolmaster, Abraham Holbrook, took advantage of a temporary absence of the sentinel, and removed the guns from the gun house, storing them in Holbrook's school room. Later they were carried by night to the American lines in Cambridge, and did good service during the war though one was captured by the British. A fourth cannon was added to the original three, but the two that remained in the hands of the Continentals were still in their hands at the close of the war. Knox, when he became Secretary of War, had them named Hancock and Adams, and suitably inscribed. Today they repose in the chamber at the top of Bunker Hill Monument, the inscription on each reading: "This is one of four cannons which constituted the whole train of field artillery possessed by the British Colonies of North America at the commencement of the war, on the 19th of April, 1775. This cannon and its fellow, belonging to a number of citizens of Boston, were used in many engagements during the war. The other two, the property of the Government of Massachusetts, were taken by the enemy."

In 1772 an offshoot of Paddock's company, The Train, was organized under the name of the Boston Grenadier Corps. Its commander was Captain Joseph Pierce, and Henry Knox was second in command. The uniform of the new corps was handsome, and the members were all men of imposing stature and figure. We may well believe that Henry Knox looked the part, and we may also believe that the new uniform and the imposing figure were not without their effect on the susceptible Miss Lucy Flucker.

Knox had been invited to join the British service, and glowing promises had been held out to him. These he declined. As the clouds gathered more thickly over the colony, many prominent

patriots were forbidden to pass the British lines about Boston. Among them was Henry Knox, already marked as active in all patriotic, and therefore, rebellious, undertakings. But after the fateful Nineteenth of April Knox did leave the city, with his wife, to whom he had now been married nearly a year. She had quilted her husband's sword in her cloak, and thus succeeded in smuggling it out. Knox brought his wife to Worcester for safe keeping while he reported to headquarters at Cambridge, offering his services to General Artemas Ward, as a volunteer, declining a commission.

The siege of Boston had virtually begun after the 19th. The thousands of Minute Men who flocked to the city had undertaken a crude form of circumvallation which was being perfected gradually. There were strong fortifications on Plowed Hill and on Winter Hill, in what is now Somerville. There was a fort on Cobble Hill, where the old McLean Asylum stood, and, perhaps most important of all, there was the Roxbury High Fort, where today stands the Cochituate water tower. This fort commanded Boston Neck, at that time the only land exit from the beleaguered city. These several forts were connected by a system of redoubts, passage ways, and curtains, which made them practically continuous from the Mystic River to Roxbury. Henry Knox had had a share in much of the engineering work involved in this circumvallation. To be sure, the chief engineer of the Massachusetts forces, appointed by the Provincial Congress in May, 1775, was Richard Gridley, who had seen service at Louisburg, with Pepperell and his New Englanders, in 1745, and in the French and Indian War. He was also in command of the artillery regiment so far as there was one at this time. Then there was Rufus Putnam, nephew of the General, a millwright by trade but a capable engineer for the times; Josiah Waters, Captain Jonathan Baldwin, of Brookfield, and others. These men were practical however, and none seemed to have made the study of the scientific side of military engineering that Henry Knox had made, meager as that must have been. His outstanding ability had been recognized from the first. He had planned and had superintended the construction of much of the fortification about the city, and his advice was constantly sought. On the site of the Roxbury fort is a massive granite tablet on which is the inscription:

On this eminence stood
Roxbury High Fort
a strong earthwork planned by
Henry Knox and Josiah Waters
and erected by the American Army
June, 1775—crowning the famous
Roxbury lines of investment
at the Siege of Boston.

There can be no doubt that Knox had a share in this work. But we may be fairly certain that the fort on Cobble Hill, plans of which have come down to us, was entirely his own. At Bunker Hill, too, although Gridley was engineer in charge and marked out the lines of the redoubt, Knox had been consulted and had given his advice freely.

At the Battle of Bunker Hill Knox was active as a volunteer. He advised General Ward as to the results of his reconnoitering, and Ward constantly acted on this advice. The Continental Congress, which began its sittings in May, 1775, had been in session during the battle, but news of the engagement did not reach Philadelphia until several days later. Meanwhile Congress had appointed Washington General and Commander-in-Chief of the armies to be raised, and it had, on motion of John Adams, adopted the army before Boston as the Continental Army. This was in June, 1775. John Hancock had entertained a strong desire to be made commander-in-chief, but the military experience and the prestige of Washington, with other important factors, were too strong to be overcome. With Washington Congress had appointed the well-known list of major-generals and brigadier-generals, with Horatio Gates as Adjutant-General, ranking as a brigadier. Practically all of these appointees had seen service in the French and Indian War, the one glaring exception being Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island, who was later to gain a reputation second only to that of Washington.

Proceeding to Cambridge, Washington took command of the Continental Army, July 3, 1775. A short time afterward he made a tour of inspection around the besieged city, and he admired especially Knox's handiwork in the fortifications already raised. But Washington felt keenly the lack of trained engineers. Under

date of November 2, 1775, he wrote Governor Trumbull of Connecticut complaining of the lack of trained officers in the engineering corps. "Most of the works," he said, "thrown up for the defense of our several encampments, have been planned by a few of the principal officers of the army, assisted by Mr. Knox, a gentleman of Worcester." It was still "Mr. Knox," for our hero had remained in the volunteer service in the strictest sense of the word, desiring and seeking no commission. But his merit could not long be concealed. Under date of November 8, Washington wrote to the President of the Continental Congress as follows: "The Council of officers are unanimously of opinion that the command of the artillery should no longer continue in Colonel Gridley; and, knowing no person better qualified to supply his place, or whose appointment will give more general satisfaction, I have taken the liberty of recommending Henry Knox to the consideration of Congress."

Colonel Richard Gridley, so often referred to, was a native of Boston, where he was born in 1721. He was now but 54 years of age, but he was broken in health. His reputation was still high, however. He had done splendid service at Louisburg, in 1745, and during the French and Indian War. Fort George, near Fort William Henry, on Lake George, which will be mentioned later, was built under his direction. He had been appointed chief engineer of the Massachusetts forces before Boston by the Provincial Congress of that colony, and he was also commander of the artillery regiment in the Continental Army. Second in command in that regiment was David Mason, who offered to remain as Lieutenant-Colonel under Knox, if the latter received the appointment of Colonel. All the other officers agreed to serve under him. So Henry Knox, on the recommendation of General Washington, was appointed colonel of the artillery regiment. Singular indeed it was that such a man, who had never served in actual warfare, even as a private, should be given command of this arm of the service, which required the most thorough knowledge, theoretical and practical, of military science of any in the army. But the profound wisdom and far-seeing sagacity of this choice of the commander-in-chief, were justified by the later career of this youth who had hardly passed his 25th birthday. Knox's commission was dated November 7, 1775, but when it was issued the young colonel was on his way to Ticonderoga by way of New York City. With

the commission had gone a letter of instruction from the commander-in-chief, which is of sufficient interest to warrant reproduction here in full.

Instructions for Henry Knox, Esq.

You are immediately to examine into the state of the artillery of this army, and take an account of the cannon, mortars, shells, lead, and ammunition that are wanting. When you have done that you are to proceed in the most expeditious manner to New York, there to apply to the President of the Provincial Congress and learn of him whether Colonel Reed did anything or left any orders respecting these things, and get him to procure such of them as can possibly be had there. The president, if he can, will have them immediately sent hither; if he cannot, you must put them in a proper channel to be transported to this camp with despatch before you leave New York. After you have procured as many of these necessaries as you can there, you must go to Major-General Schuyler and get the remainder from Ticonderoga, Crown Point, or St. John; if it should be necessary, from Quebec, if in our hands. The want of them is so great that no trouble or expense must be spared to obtain them. I have wrote General Schuyler, he will give every necessary assistance, that they may be had and forwarded to this place with the utmost despatch. I have given you a warrant to the Paymaster General of the Continental Army for a thousand dollars, to defray the expense attending your journey and procuring these articles, an account of which you are to keep and render upon your return.

Given under my hand at headquarters at Cambridge, this 16th day of November, Annoque Domini 1775.

G. WASHINGTON

Endeavor to procure what flints you can.

The regiment of artillery under Knox was made up of twelve companies, and totalled, when he took charge, 635 men. It proved a training corps for the later Continental Army.

By this time the siege of Boston was as well organized as it could be without the trained engineers so much needed, and without fairly heavy siege guns. The lines of circumvallation were complete. The Continental Army numbered approximately 16,000

men, indifferently well equipped with muskets and bayonets, far less well with ammunition, practically not at all with cannon of large calibre. Unless such heavy guns could be secured, the siege must be prolonged indefinitely, or given up entirely. And the moral effect, sure to be produced if it were given up, would have been fatal to the patriots' cause. It may be added here that the British troops numbered approximately 11,000, well supplied with all the munitions of war but often pinched for food and fire wood, both of which the Continentals had in abundance.

We cannot be certain that the thought of securing the Ticonderoga cannon first sprang from Knox's fertile brain. The plan had doubtless occurred to many others but the execution seems to have been left for Knox to suggest and to carry out. The details of the capture of Ticonderoga are known to everybody. It was on the morning of May 10, 1775, that Ethan Allen and his four-score Green Mountain boys took the historic stronghold at day-break, a bloodless victory, in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress. As a matter of fact the Continental Congress began its session at 10 in the morning of that day, and Allen certainly stretched a point in invoking its authority. The captured British garrison had been marched over to Hartford, prisoners of war, when perhaps no war existed, and the captured guns had lain unused in the fort. And there were many ardent patriots who felt, even now, that war was not inevitable, and that fort, cannon, and other munitions of war would yet be given back to King George.

Howe, strongly entrenched in Boston, with Bunker Hill fortified, felt secure. "We are not under the least apprehension of an attack from the rebels," he wrote to England, "by surprise or otherwise." On the contrary he wished that they would attempt so rash a step, and quit their strong entrenchments, to which they might attribute their present safety. Apparently he was informed as to the patriots' lack of heavy guns; moreover the fact that no bombardment was attempted by the Continentals confirmed this information, and he might feel fairly certain, too, that they could not secure these needed heavy guns in the immediate future. But in this he reckoned without the enterprise of the new colonel of artillery.

Knox submitted his plan as to the Ticonderoga cannon to Washington, who looked into it carefully. It appealed to him as of value,

and well worth a trial under the direction of the enthusiastic young chief of artillery. He therefore gave his approval. The undertaking was difficult and not without danger. It involved a journey of four hundred miles in the depth of winter, while snow and ice would render passable the rivers and lakes to be crossed, and the roads to be traversed through the wilderness. If open waters were encountered boats could be employed. The expense, according to Knox's estimate, would not be above \$1,000. It did, as a matter of fact, amount to £520, s. 15, p. $8\frac{3}{4}$, two and one half times the estimate.

There has come down to us a diary that Knox kept on the expedition, in a small leather-bound book, taken probably from his stock in the bookstore in Cornhill. It is a brief diary, and pages here and there are missing, but it is a wonderfully realistic record of the venturesome undertaking. And its simple narrative stamps the young pioneer as a man fertile in expedients, sagacious, persevering, not to be deterred by any obstacle, no matter how large. I quote from the diary briefly:

Nov. 20. Went from Worcester to go to New York, reached Western that night, 30 m. [Western was the old name of Warren.]

Nov. 21. From Western to Hartford, 44 m.

Nov. 22. From Hartford to New Haven, 40 m.

Nov. 23. From New Haven to Fairfield, 28 m.

Nov. 24. From Fairfield to Kingsbridge, 56 m.

Nov. 25. From Kingsbridge to New York, 14 m.

At New York Nov. 26, 27, 28. Left New York the Tuesday following and reached Croton's Ferry 29th, 14 m.

Knox was very glad to leave New York, as he found it very expensive. From there he wrote to Washington, urging the establishment in that city of a foundry for casting cannon. He left Croton's Ferry, and, travelling in stages of approximately forty miles a day, arrived in Albany December 1. He remained there a day or two, but on the 3rd he journeyed on, arriving at Fort George, near the head of Lake George on the 4th. On this last stage of the journey he had a curious and tragic experience. Seeking shelter overnight, in a poor cabin by the roadside, he shared his humble quarters with a British officer, who had been captured by the Americans under Montgomery, November 3, at St. John's,

and who was then on his way to report, under parole, at Lancaster, Pa. This young British officer was Major John André. The young men were greatly taken with one another, and spent much of the night, in their rude quarters, conversing. They parted, the next morning, with mutual expressions of high regard, which were doubtless sincere. They were not to meet again for nearly five years. In October, 1780, John André was on trial for his life as a spy, and on the court martial sat Brigadier-General Henry Knox.

On the 5th of December, Knox sailed down Lake George, which was not yet frozen, reaching Fort Ticonderoga late in the afternoon. On the 6th he was employed in getting the cannon out of the fort and onto a gondola, or gundaloe, as he calls it in the diary, in order to transport them to the bridge, and then to the landing place on Lake George. This work occupied him over the 7th and 8th. On the 9th the cannon were loaded into the scow that was to carry them up Lake George. This task was completed on that day by 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and the scow started up the lake. Knox himself went on ahead in a smaller vessel, which he calls, in his diary, a "pettianger." But the scow was soon in trouble, running aground and being got off only with great difficulty. Delayed by this accident, Knox and his companions did not reach Sabbath Day Point, a third of their journey up the lake, until 9 o'clock in the evening. There they went ashore and warmed themselves by an exceedingly good fire, as he says in the diary, "taking up their quarters in a hut made by 'civil' Indians, who gave them venison roasted after their manner, which the weary travelers found very relishing." "The Indians and their ladies," says the diary, "retired to other huts."

Day by day the diary tells of difficulties met and overcome. And, as we read it, we marvel that the young colonel of the artillery did not lose his courage and give up the undertaking. Washington had indeed written to General Philip Schuyler, who was at that time in Albany, urging him to render all possible assistance in Knox's undertaking. This Schuyler did. Even so, however, the snow, two or three feet deep, the bitter cold, the frequent thaws, and the thousand and one accidents on the way, would have discouraged and demoralized a man of weaker fibre.

On December 17, Knox wrote Washington from Fort George: "I returned from this place on the 15th, and brought with me the

cannon, it being nearly the time that I computed it would take us to transport them here. It is not easy to conceive the difficulties we have had in getting them over the lake owing to the advanced season of the year, and contrary winds, but the danger is now past. Three days ago it was very uncertain whether we should have gotten them until next spring; but now, please God, they must go. I have had made 42 exceedingly strong sleds, and have procured 81 yoke of oxen to drag them as far as Springfield, where I shall get fresh cattle to carry them to camp. The route will be from here to Kinderhook, from thence to Great Barrington and down to Springfield. I have sent for the sleds and teams to come here, and expect to begin to move them to Saratoga on Wednesday or Thursday next; trusting that between this and then we shall have a firm fall of snow, which will enable us to proceed further, and make the carriage easy. If that shall be the case, I hope, in sixteen or seventeen days' time to present to your Excellency a noble train of artillery."

This letter was written December 17. Many troubles yet intervened, however. There was delay in securing the sleds and oxen. At first it was believed that horses could do the work with ordinary sleds or sleighs. More than 100 horses were assembled, and a great number of sleighs, only to be discarded as unsuited to the strenuous work ahead. There was dispute as to the payment for the oxen. Not until January 4, then, did the first brass twenty-four-pounder arrive at Albany, and even then one of the heavier guns broke through the ice as it was being hauled across the river. It was fished out with the assistance of the good people of Albany, "in honor of whom," says Knox in the diary, "we christened her 'The Albany.'" This was on January 8. Ultimately all the cannon and other supplies were transferred safely across the Hudson and began their slow journey through the wilderness to Cambridge, a strange procession, "such as," says one commentator, "that quiet country had never witnessed before and has never witnessed since."

From Albany, under date of January 5, Knox wrote to Washington: "I was in hopes that we should have been able to have had the cannon at Cambridge by this time. The want of snow detained us some days, and now a cruel thaw hinders from crossing Hudson River, which we are obliged to do four times from Lake

George to this town. The first severe night will make the ice on the river sufficiently strong; till that happens the cannon and mortars must remain where they are. These inevitable delays pain me exceedingly, as my mind is fully sensible of the importance of the greatest expedition in the case. General Schuyler has been exceedingly assiduous in this matter. As to myself, my utmost endeavors have been, and still shall be used to forward them with the utmost despatch."

With the cannon, mortars, and other material across the river and on their way overland to Cambridge, the route followed becomes of exceeding interest. It is here that the Commission authorized by the Massachusetts Legislature has done its valuable and devoted work.

From Fort Ticonderoga, the route taken by the cannon had led to Fort George, thence to Albany, Kinderhook, Claverack, in New York, and across the line into Massachusetts. What is now this state was entered through the town of Egremont, near the present village of North Egremont. Much of the old road followed by Knox and his cannon has since been abandoned for another route of easier grade. But the road that Knox followed was a historic one. It had been an early trail used by the Indians; later, in King Philip's War, by their relentless foes, Major Talcott and his doughty men. Lord Amherst had followed it with his conquering army that was to make good the mistakes of Loudon and Abercrombie; and Burgoyne, with his defeated troops, had marched over part of that route, at least, on his way to Rutland and Cambridge, after Saratoga. From North Egremont the road lay into Great Barrington, but thence it struck off far to the south of the present-day routes to the west: the Mohawk Trail, the Berkshire Trail, Jacob's Ladder. It went through towns little known today: Monterey, Otis, Blandford, at that time called Glasgow, Russell. It passed through Westfield, then Springfield, where new cattle were procured, and it went directly through Worcester and on to the camp at Cambridge. When Knox and his train reached Framingham, he was met by John Adams, who had been, and who always remained, his warm friend. Adams escorted the train to the camp.

The earliest road from Boston to the settlements on the Connecticut, and to Albany, passed to the south of Worcester, taking

in Grafton and Sutton, and ultimately reaching Hartford. This was the old Nipmuck Trail. The road to the west, by way of Worcester and the Brookfields, was opened much later, probably about 1735. But there can be no doubt that Knox and his cannon passed directly through Worcester, up over Lincoln St., and so on to the camp of the Continentals at Cambridge.

Many of the entries in Knox's diary are of interest. Jan. 10, he says: "Reached No. 1 after having climbed mountains from which we might have seen all the kingdoms of the earth." [No. 1 was the old name of Tyringham.]

Jan. 11. "Went 12 miles through the green woods to Blanford. It appeared to me almost a miracle that people with heavy loads should be able to get up and down such hills as are there with anything of heavy loads. At Blanford we overtook the first division who had tarried here until we came up, and refused to go any further on account that there was no snow five or six miles further, in which place was the tremendous Glasgow or Westfield mountain to go down. But after three hours of persuasion, I hiring two teams of oxen, they agreed to go."

It was on the 24th of January that Knox, with his "noble train of artillery," arrived in camp at Cambridge. He was welcomed with wild jubilation, and some of the heavier guns were at once mounted in the fort at Lechmere's Point, in Cambridge, and in other positions. But most of them were held in reserve for that night in early March, when, under command of that stout old soldier, Artemas Ward, and under the immediate supervision of General Thomas, the 400 oxen, aided by the 2,000 men, ascended Dorchester Heights, threw up the fortifications, and mounted the remaining Ticonderoga cannon. Howe, in Boston, saw at a glance that his position was no longer tenable. The evacuation followed on the 17th, and the first great stroke of the Revolution was won.

What did Knox bring down from Ticonderoga in the "noble train of artillery"? He has himself left the inventory, and it is an interesting one:

There were 6 coehorns and 2 mortars of brass, of calibre ranging from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; in length from 1 ft. 4 in. to 2 ft., and in weight from 150 to 300 pounds. There were 6 mortars of iron, ranging from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 in. in calibre, from 1 ft. 10 in. to 3 ft. in length, and from 600 to 2,300 pounds in weight. There were also 2 iron howitzers of 8 and $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. respectively, each 3 ft. 4 in. long.

Of the cannon, there were, of brass, eight 3-pounders, three 6-pounders, one 18-pounder, and one 24-pounder, the calibre of these guns varying $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the length ranging from 3 ft. 6 in., to 8 ft. 3 in., and the weight from 350 lbs. to 2,000 lbs. Of iron cannon there were six 6-pounders, four 9-pounders, ten 12-pounders, and ten 18-pounders. In calibre these iron cannon ranged from $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., and in length from 8 ft. 4 in. to 11 ft. In weight they ran from 2,500 to 4,000 lbs. The total of mortars, coehorns, and howitzers was, therefore, 16; of cannon, 43. This array of artillery weighed 119,900 lbs., that is, nearly 60 tons." With the guns Knox had brought one barrel of flints and 23 boxes of lead.

Colonel Knox had given explicit directions as to transporting the artillery: "By all means," he says, "endeavor that the heavy cannon and mortars go off first. Let the touch holes and vents of all the mortars and cannon be turned downwards. The lead and flints are to come as far as Albany, which will serve to make up a load. Observe that 2 pairs of horses be put to between 2 and 3 thousand weight, and 3 or 4 pair for 4,000 weight, and 4 span for those of 5,000 weight. The one span will take above 1,000 weight. They are to receive seven £ per ton for every 62 miles, or 12 shillings per day for each span of horses."

The improvised navy of the colonies had, meanwhile, not been idle. With one of its vessels, the *Lee*, Captain Manley had captured the brigantine *Nancy*, bound from London to Boston. Her cargo included 2,000 muskets, 10,500 flints, 31 tons of musket shot, 3,000 round shot for 12-pounders, and 4,000 for 6-pounders. There was, too, a fine brass mortar weighing 27,110 lbs. This was christened "Congress" at a hilarious celebration in the Cambridge camp, General Israel Putnam drinking to its success in the struggle, and General Mifflin pronouncing a eulogy.

The round shot, so opportunely supplied, were a bonanza to Knox, who now had the guns ready to use them. Ammunition, both powder and shot, was now coming to the Continentals in considerable quantities from Africa, from the West Indies, even from Europe. Large-calibre guns were difficult to obtain, however. But after the evacuation of Boston more than 250 pieces of fairly large calibre, left by the British, fell into the hands of the Americans. Some, to be sure, had been spiked, and others had had

their trunnions knocked off. But many of the trunnionless cannon were ingeniously mounted on wooden carriages and were thus made serviceable. Skillful gunsmiths, like Seth Pomeroy and his fellows, had little difficulty in unspiking the others and in putting them again into commission.

As time wore on the artillery equipment of the Continental Army was steadily augmented. Many cannon, both field and siege, were captured from the British, as at St. John's, Canada, and with Burgoyne's Army at Saratoga. Then, too, foundries among the colonies were not inactive, one at Richmond, Va., adding many pieces of various calibre to the supply. And many of the small blast furnaces in New England and eastern New York, working on the poor bog-iron ore, produced thousands of round shot and shell of every calibre. Thus when the Continental Army marched down to invest Yorktown, in 1781, their artillery formed a striking contrast to what they had had at the investment of Boston six years before. At Yorktown the Americans had 12 brass cannon of the field variety, varying from 3- to 12-pounders, and three howitzers of $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. calibre, all with carriages and implements complete, and with 200 rounds to each piece. For siege purposes they had three 24-pounders and twenty 18-pounders of iron, also 21 brass mortars and howitzers, in calibre ranging from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 in. Their guns totalled, therefore, 59, completely equipped. And they were served by artillerymen under Knox, as able and as skilled as any in the army of Cornwallis. In addition to the American train of artillery, the French, their allies, had, before Yorktown, 32 field-pieces, 20 heavy siege guns, and 20 mortars and howitzers, all properly equipped. It was this splendid artillery force that sealed the doom of the British, in spite of their strong fortifications, just as surely as the Ticonderoga cannon drove Howe from Boston.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Commission, markers have been placed in each town through which Knox and the cannon passed, thus indicating the route that he took. This route, in the western part of the state, has been called the "General Knox Highway." The towns thus designated are as follows: Egremont, Great Barrington, Monterey, Otis, Blandford, Russell, Westfield, West Springfield, Springfield, Wilbraham, Palmer, Warren, Brookfield, Spencer, Leicester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Northborough,

Southborough, Marlborough, Framingham, Sudbury, Weston, Waltham, Watertown, Cambridge. A marker has also been placed, in accordance with the recommendation of the Commission, at the point where the old road crossed the present Massachusetts-New York line. Similar action on the part of New York State has provided a series of markers in that state to Fort Ticonderoga itself. The number of markers recommended and placed under the direction of the Massachusetts Commission is twenty-seven. Most of these have already been dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. In Worcester the dedication took place July 4, 1927, the exercises being under the direction of the Worcester Historical Society. The lettering on each marker, now fairly familiar, is of such size as to be readily read by travelers as they pass by. The inscription reads as follows:

Through this town
passed
General Henry Knox
in the
Winter of 1775-1776
to deliver to
General George Washington
at Cambridge
The Train of Artillery
from Fort Ticonderoga
and to force the British Army to evacuate Boston.
(Erected by Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1926.)

Above this inscription on the granite monument is a bronze relief, showing a cannon being transported on a sledge drawn by a yoke of oxen, under the guidance of a driver, a Continental soldier as guard walking in the background.

Thus is offered, somewhat tardily, a slight testimonial to a son of Massachusetts who showed claims to real greatness.

The achievement of the Ticonderoga cannon stamped the young man as possessed of boldness, enterprise, fertility of resource, genius. His later career emphasized all these qualities. A warm friend, even an intimate of the great Washington, his ardent supporter in every plan and undertaking, he served with his chief before Boston, at Long Island, at Trenton and Monmouth and

Princeton; at Brandywine and Germantown; at Yorktown. At Trenton his powerful voice made itself heard above the roar of the river and the crash of the floating ice cakes in the Delaware, and contributed in no small degree, as did his skillfully worked cannon, to the demoralization and overwhelming defeat of the Hessians. At Monmouth his batteries helped rectify Lee's traitorous action and bring victory instead of defeat. At Yorktown his engineering skill and his carefully drilled veteran artillerymen met the best that Cornwallis could offer and spelled defeat for that commander and victory for the cause of the colonists.

The war of the Revolution and those times tried men's souls. But they produced heroes whom we of a later generation delight to honor: Washington, Ward, Putnam, Greene, Stark, and their fellows. None, however, deserve higher honor or a more enduring memorial than Washington's youthful Chief of Artillery, Henry Knox, engineer, fertile in expedient, resourceful, brave, skillful; whose exploit with the Ticonderoga cannon stands out today as marking the beginning of that later career in the Revolution so useful and so glorious.

ZELOTES W. COOMBS

TRAIL AND PIKE

A Study in Highway Development

Like us moderns, the original inhabitants of the ground we glide over so comfortably in auto or train or trolley were also indefatigable travelers. Travel was almost the Indian's occupation in life. He was always preparing for a hurry call on what for him was urgent business. To go where gravity would drop into his mouth the necessary food with such aid as rude hunting or fishing gear could give, this was to a good extent his trade. We fall to thinking sometimes that we Yankees originated the idea of bustling, hustling, migratory existence. From seacoast to inland resort, from shore to mountain lake or forest inn, so it is the fashion to seek what seems to us desirable for our best happiness and health. But so did the Indians. At stated seasons they migrated seaward or countryward according as nature provided for human appetite by beach or salt marsh or salmon falls or open upland meadow.

Hubbard's "History of New England," 1679, quaintly describes this from actual observation. "Every noated place of fishing and hunting was usually a distinct seigniory, and thither all theire friends and allyes of the neighboring provinces used to resort in the time of yeare to attend those seasons, partly for recreation, and partly to make provision for the yeare. . . . and then those who had entertained theire neighbors by the sea side expected the like kindness from them againe, up higher in the country. . . . With such kinde of entercourse were their affayres and commerce carried on between those that lived up in the country, and those that were seated on the sea coast."

For the comfortable accomplishment of these periodic journeys, as well as for the making of those other excursions which we perhaps unjustly think of as most truly typical of Indian life, when war, not food or social intercourse, was the object, routes and roads were more than desirable. So the primitive travelers up hill and down dale, over, around, through, across this Nipmuck Country we call ours, had their trails, which served their simple purpose very well. And they would have continued thus to serve men's purpose here all down the centuries, if what we call "civilization" had not come in to upset the quiet and the calm (and inefficiency) of Nipmuck Land.

But under the impelling force of advancing ideas and appetite working together, the Indian trail was transformed into every man's turnpike and post road; and now, in turn, straggling turnpike and post road are being supplemented by the network of iron rails and hard, smooth automobile highways, so that we almost forget to think of the first surveyors of our present wonderful system of state and town thoroughfares.

In the long story of the evolution of civilization out of savagery through barbarism, there have been various epoch-making forward steps. When the simple club gave way to the two-piece weapon, like sling and stone, mortar and pestle, bow and arrow; when pottery came in to improve domestic conditions; when the first wild beast was domesticated; when the wild nomadic adventurer assumed the more stable existence on the ranch; when stone implement gave place to bronze, or bronze to steel; when wealth consisting merely in an open mouth, a ripening fruit, and the beneficent force of gravity to bring fruit and mouth into relation with each other, was replaced by a sense of ownership of material things; when sense of ownership of material things widened into a sense of wealth in things of the mind and heart—all these are way marks on the long journey of the human race out of darkness into what *up to date* is called the light of civilization.

But is not much of all this incomprehensible advance included in, or at least suggested by, the transition from trail to turnpike? The trail stands for simple foot power as a means of communication, unaided by mechanical device, unhampered by utensils or superfluous clothing, unencumbered by acquired tastes or troublesome wants. The turnpike stands for much that free human intercourse suggests: an easier exchange of commodities and ideas and experiences and money and expressions of human interest, goodwill and aspiration. "The story of these various highways," says Hulbert, "their building and their fortune, is the story of the people who have inhabited and who do now inhabit the land. The study of them is an important story; it has already been too long neglected" (p. 152 of Vol. 2 of Hulbert's "Historic Highways"). Next in importance after providing for the institutions of religion came, in the opinion of our New England ancestors, the construction of suitable roads.

The routes of the aboriginal travelers over these hills of ours and

along the river valleys are fast becoming even less than a tradition. Iron tires and steel plow shares, farm and road-making machinery, have wholly obliterated those narrow paths worn deep by moccasined feet. Before it is quite too late we should hasten to rescue the last memory of those routes along which, under very different conditions three centuries ago, went men and women, boys and girls, weary, homesick, overburdened,—or buoyant, forward-looking, as we,—unhampered by modern excess of luggage. But what does it matter whether one's belongings consist of a dozen trunks safely checked in the baggage car or whether they consist of a good digestion, a sure foot, a contented disposition, and a vision of a happy hunting ground farther on?

Even the "Old Bay Path" is more or less a matter of conjecture. Still, we know well enough its general course: leaving Shawmut (Boston) by ford or ferry across Charles River to Cambridge, it rambled along through what we now know as Waltham and Weston; then skirting Lake Cochituate on its northerly shore, it crossed the easterly part of Framingham; then, according to Judge Estey's study, touching Sherborn, it traversed Hopkinton, Grafton, Sutton, Oxford, Charlton, Sturbridge, Brimfield, and so on to Agawam by the Connecticut River. Such was one of the oldest known thoroughfares of the Continent. Adopted by the earliest European settlers as theirs, and called by them the Old Connecticut Path, it was the only great New England route to the westward for many years. Then, later, better grades were found over a northern course through Marlboro, Lancaster (as it then was), and Brookfield. This newer route joined the Bay Path near West Brimfield, and was known as the New Connecticut Path. This, as a thoroughfare, was in turn developed, about 1673, into the old historic way still familiar through Shrewsbury and Worcester, and so on to the westward.

We need not recall the language of J. G. Holland in his "Bay Path," in order to imagine the pathos of primitive travel along this early wilderness trail—all the suspense, the homesickness, the physical weariness and pain, the dread, despair, wonderment, hope for the unknown future, yearning for free space for a more abundant life, shrinking from the toil of pioneer existence when the end of the journey should come and actual home making should begin; all the adventure of travel over the unexplored,

untried hundred miles of wilderness between the new inland settlement by the river and the only slightly older one by the three hills on the Bay. Over it came William Pyncheon and his associates in the spring of 1636, from Roxbury, after having sent their goods in Governor Winthrop's boat far about by water, to establish what was to be Springfield. Over it also there probably journeyed the group of hardy Dedhamites who were to be the founders of old Deerfield in 1670, and to suffer and die there too at Bloody Brook and after. And in 1686, we may think of the Huguenots as traveling over the same path, whose experiences have brought added pathos to the local history of Oxford.

Other highways the Indians had, some far more important than the Old Connecticut Path, though that was the most important in all New England. There was the trail leading from Narragansett Land to fishing and hunting grounds far up the streams. There were the long routes off into the Iroquois territory and beyond. And there were the trails over the Alleghenies from Pennsylvania and Virginia and the Carolinas. The first of these, from eastern Pennsylvania into the Ohio Valley, is doubly historic, because Braddock adopted it as the route for his fatally famous expedition to Fort Duquesne: Many towns have their legends of Indian trails and the adventures thereon. The again popular Mohawk Trail over Hoosac Mountain from Charlemont to North Adams is a part of this great prehistoric system.

The narrow tracks where Indians in single file trod in one another's footsteps widened to bridle paths, and these to rough roads for carts and sleds and chaises and stage coaches, and later for bicycles and automobiles. On these old lines of communication, more or less modified, the whole story of human intercourse has worked itself out, till the four corners of the world are bound together in one common struggle over the exchange of products of hand or brain for dollars or ideas. Marcus Whitman's memorable struggle to cross the Rocky Mountains with his wagon into the great Northwest typifies it all. Progress of every sort follows the pioneer work of the road makers.

Perhaps the recent awakening interest in matters of local history and the recognition of its value as a means for adequate knowledge of the present may result in the better preservation of the facts concerning the old Indian routes and in the rescue from utter

oblivion of the invaluable traditions connected with primitive human intercourse throughout the Atlantic states. Certainly here in New England all organizations with any regard for the past (which means any intelligent respect for the present), should coöperate to preserve and record such data as may yet be available as an important and perhaps controlling element in the history to be worked out in the multiplex future.

Where ran the Nipmuck Trail, mentioned in early histories of Mendon? Was it possibly a continuation of that traditional path from Bogistow Pond to Wennakeening Pond in Holliston? What memories have survived of trails connecting Quinsigamond Pond with the seacoast to the eastward? When the New Connecticut Path was established, in 1649, did it follow some Red Men's trail? In the West the Indians took advantage of buffalo trails, straight and hoof-hardened; was there any such previous layout for the Indian thoroughfares in this Nipmuck Land? From water to water, it is said, ran the aboriginal routes. Just where, then, ran the connection between Quinsigamond and Chaumungagungimaug to the southward? Questions like these we would like to put indefinitely to those who have in their day been so untiring in preparing the ground which forms stable footing for us, just as we in our turn are building better and better highways for those who shall come after us.

Indian trails, as already said, were narrow and often obscure. They disregarded grades, and usually followed ridges or high ground, because drained in wet weather, snow-swept in winter, less overgrown with underbrush, and always commanding wide view of earth and sky. Indian trails were never widened or otherwise improved, though they were often varied in their course when conditions of the ground required. Just this primitive fixedness suggests a leading feature of the transition from trail to turnpike. The White Man quickly learned by experience how to find the easier grade, how to blaze his path for the benefit of others who might travel the same way, how to lay down logs and make himself corduroy roads over muddy spots, how to make travel easier and happier from generation to generation, how to make himself better and better vehicles and to adapt the roads to them. This power to improve conditions quickly, through observation and experience, is itself a chief mark of civilization; that stolid

conservatism, inability to learn to pass on to the next generation a better social order than the past has known, is a mark of the lower stages of development.

But the evolution of the colonial roads was necessarily slow. As early as 1639, six years after the first white men made the venturesome journey over the Old Connecticut Path to Agawam, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony took action with reference to better traveling conditions. On November 5 of that year, recognizing that the routes were sometimes "too straite and in other places travellers are forced to go farr about," it was ordered that all roads should be definitely laid out. Note this passage from the order of the General Court: "Every town shall choose two or three men who shall joyne with two or three of the next town and they shall have power to lay out ways where most convenient notwithstanding any man's property or any corne ground so as it not occasion the puling down of any man's house or laying open any garden or orchard and in comon ground or where the soyle is wet or mirye they shall lay out the ways the wider as 6 or 8 or 10 rods or more in comon ground." . . . "Each town to make reasonable satisfaction."

About two years later, a bridge was built over the Charles to Cambridge, in preparation for the New Connecticut Path, already alluded to, which, in 1649, was laid out through Lancaster, Brookfield, and so on to Albany. This was the regular route westward until, in 1673, the more direct route, still in use, was opened. Connection with Dedham and so on to Providence was had over the Mill Dam between Boston and what is now Brookline, but for many years—till 1786—the only approach to Charlestown and so to the very important early road along the North Shore to Portsmouth—the Old Bay Road—was by ferry. The construction of the Charlestown bridge was to be left, then, till after the Revolution. This may seem slow progress, but a writer in *World's Work* for October, 1912, reminds us that "Streets of New York were not laid out and paved to any appreciable extent until 1750," and in Philadelphia "up to 1840, or thereabouts, goats and pigs wandered at will about the public streets, and acted as scavengers." Senator Beveridge's "John Marshall," Chapter VII, gives an interesting description of traveling conditions at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

With such meager provision for inland travel, the carrying of mails was a difficult matter, as well as an expensive one. At first letters were forwarded through the chance journeys of villagers to town or through the more or less regular trips of tradespeople back and forth. The word "present," which looked so quaint and mysterious on old letters of perhaps seventy-five years ago, was practically a sort of recognition of the gratuitous courtesy of such unofficial messengers who undertook to see the precious missive into the hands of the designated person. And the missive was precious. Paper, which had long been known in China and the East, was brought into England and Western Europe only in time for the first printing press, late in the fifteenth century, but paper was not made in England till very late in the seventeenth century. So material for letter writing had to be doubly imported in the early colonies, first into the mother country from Holland, perhaps, and then across the Atlantic. The postage also was no small item, and the chance of loss by the way was considerable. In view of the slowness and the cost of travel, it is no wonder that as late as about one hundred years ago postage was at the rate of eight cents for forty miles of distance, twenty cents for five hundred miles, and other distances in proportion. Magazines and pamphlets cost one cent a sheet for not over fifty miles. The Great American Mail Route from Portsmouth, N. H. to Williamsburg, Va., was established in 1693, with weekly service till 1780. The route from Boston lay through Roxbury and Dedham, and so on to Bristol and Newport. At Saybrook, Conn., the rider from Boston met the rider from New York, and each returned after exchanging pouches. A postal route to New York by way of Springfield was attempted in 1714, but it did not pay, and was soon abandoned. Across the Atlantic private correspondence went by private vessels, but in 1702 there were royal mail packets between Falmouth, England, and the West Indies. After Braddock's defeat King George established mail service to New York, which continued monthly till 1840, with shilling postage down to two generations ago. In 1772, every Monday, the Brown stage wagons left Hartford, one for Boston and one for New York, arriving at each destination Wednesday night. They returned between Thursday and Saturday.

Dr. Griffis claims that the Dutch taught the colonists of New England the use of sleds in winter. The Indians traveled little

during the winter season; the trails were too difficult. But for the Europeans winter afforded special opportunity for heavy freighting. Transportation by sled was far easier than by wheels over the primitive roads. Winter is still the harvest time for woodsmen, and among the early settlers the products of the forests were a very important crop. Intercourse by sled stands as a middle stage in the development of the coach road out of the bridle path. For sledding purposes no specially prepared roadway was necessary. Sled roads were not always definite tracks. They straggled about as they found suitable depth of snow, and the frozen surface of a lake or stream was as great a resource as to the aborigines was an opportunity to rest their legs in a bark canoe.

What we now regard as the hardships and difficulties of early travel were by no means peculiar to the new civilization on this side of the ocean. Conditions were much the same in England. Writing of the times of Lady Jane Grey, only about seventy years earlier than the landing of the Pilgrims, Davey, in "The Nine Days' Queen," says, "Carriages were but little used as yet, and people of quality had to journey from place to place on horseback, the elderly ladies being provided with the quaintest but most inconvenient and perilous of side saddles, while the young girls and children rode pillion in front of or behind their nearest male relatives or some trusty yeoman." As late as 1739, it is said, there were no turnpikes beyond one hundred miles out of London.

Pioneer roads advanced slowly year by year out from the coast towns, but once started they could not stop at the bridle-path or the sled-road stage. The transition from trail to true road began when wheeled vehicles were introduced. Before the Revolution wagons and carts had become common, and the village wheelwright was an important member of the community. At first "mud week" must have been looked forward to with something like dread by the dwellers along our primitive roads. Hulbert almost, but not quite, suggests that the typical Yankee is tall and slim because his legs got so stretched by constantly drawing them in and out of the New England mud. In the earlier years little attempt could be made to improve the road bed, but wheels could not follow the grades of trail and bridle path up and down the steep slopes, so the first thing to learn was that the bail of a bucket is no longer when lying flat than when set upright—that a curved

road is no longer to travel when laid out around a hill than when laid out over its top. The coming in of the stage coach, with thorough-brace springs, with some degree of shelter against storm and cold, with provision for light luggage, with arrangement for relays of horses, certainly marks an epoch in the development of transportation, even if Dickens and Greeley and many other travelers have left behind them ludicrous stories of the difficulties and hardships in even the advanced stage-coach period. The first stage wagon, not to say coach, began making regular trips out of Boston in 1720. "The Portsmouth Flying Stage Coach" accommodated six passengers inside, and the fare to Portsmouth was 13 shillings 6 pence.

By the middle of the century regular stage trips out of Boston were a fully established institution. The lower post road to New York was in full swing by 1737; the Middle Route, through Medfield, Bellingham etc., in 1759; the Upper Route, through Marlborough and Worcester, in 1764. In 1783, October 20, on a Monday morning, Captain Levi Pease inaugurated, at the rate of four pence a mile, his efficient stage service to New York by way of Shrewsbury, Worcester, Springfield and Hartford. In 1814 these coaches started daily from Boston, making the trip in two days, with a short rest in Hartford. In 1815 connection was established at New Haven with a steamboat for New York. At the end of the stage-coach period, Jenkins says there were six lines and eighteen regular coaches between Boston and Springfield.

The years immediately following the close of the Revolution were stirring times in the history of transportation both in Old England and in New. In 1784 Watt's steam engine appeared, and Watt himself suggested its possible use for drawing vehicles upon the highway. Two years later, 1786, Symington's model of a steam stage coach was exhibited in England. That same year Pennsylvania and Maryland granted exclusive permits to Oliver Evans to run steam wagons in those states. Eleven years later, 1798, Trevithick, in London, ran the first successful steam carriage, thus anticipating the Stanley steamer by a hundred years. In 1828 Gurney's steam carriage ran successfully from Edinborough to Glasgow for four months, until prejudice and hyperconservatism drove it into retirement. The further usefulness of the railway was then postponed for a generation. These facts I have taken from

the article, "Steam-Coach Days," in *Scribner's Magazine* for February, 1913.

Certainly a very definite way-mark in the development of travel was passed when the building of incorporated turnpikes began. Much attention was given to improved road bed, but, strange to say, the pikes were laid out with reference to direction far more than to grade. Public money could not, as now for state roads, be appropriated yet for such public improvements, so it was necessary to organize private capital for the purpose, and the incorporation of highways was instituted, with the proceeds from the sale of capital stock applied to cost of construction, and the prospective revenue from toll-gate receipts to be paid as dividends on the capital stock. The first piece of turnpike in America was begun in 1785 between Alexandria and the lower Shenandoah Valley. The first Massachusetts turnpike was incorporated in 1796, to be built between Warren (then known as Western) and Palmer. Among its incorporators were such well-known Worcester names as Dwight Foster, Levi Lincoln, Nathaniel Paine. In that same year, 1796, a petition for the incorporation of the Blackstone Canal was filed, and also a petition for the incorporation of a "navigable Canal from the Great Pond in the Town of Worcester to Boston." The latter was never built. The former sent its first boat through to Worcester in October, 1828.

During the ten years after 1796 forty-one other turnpikes were incorporated within the state of Massachusetts. This was a long step forward in the science of engineering in America—this movement to survey carefully and to grade and lay down a road bed with some attempt at scientific construction. It was also a long step forward in finance—this offer of turnpike stock as a profitable investment. No wonder it at once became a rather popular form of financial venture among the forward-looking, forehanded New Englanders of the beginning of the last century.

The sixth of the forty-two Massachusetts turnpike corporations was that to build a road from Amherst to Shrewsbury, in 1799. Amherst was already a town of some importance even three-quarters of a century before the founding of the college, and its tavern had been a popular road house for over a half century before the opening of this incorporated highway. The Old Bay Road through Hadley to Boston had been a traveled route since 1674. As

a thoroughfare to Albany it rivaled the route through Springfield. For communication between Boston and the region of Lake Champlain, by way of Deerfield (the Mohawk Trail), it became the natural course after it was definitely surveyed by town authorities in 1732. The first cart bridge over Fort River, on the line of this Bay Road, was built by vote of the town of Hadley in 1675. Wheels and runners seem to have passed over it about 1692. The captive remnant of Burgoyne's army was marched over the westerly section of it, on the way to Northampton after the Battle of Saratoga.

So then, till after 1675, the settlers of Northampton and Amherst and all that rich Upper Connecticut Valley section reached the capital of their colony by going down the river road perhaps as far as Springfield, over the same route as the pioneer settlers of Deerfield followed, and then by the Connecticut Path eastward. From that date, however, Amherst lay on a traveled route between Boston and Albany and between Boston and Lake Champlain; but something better was needed, and now, in 1799, through Pelham, Greenwich, Hardwick, New Braintree, Holden, and the northerly part of Worcester, connection was to be made at Shrewsbury with the historic route over which Captain Pease's coaches were and had been running for thirteen years to and from Boston and New York.

The by-laws of this early financial enterprise are rather interesting reading. Section 1 deals with details of construction and management: "the road should be not less than eighteen feet wide; there should be five toll-gates; four-wheeled coaches drawn by two horses should pay 25 cents toll, with an additional 4 cents for each additional horse; an ox or horse cart should pay 12½ cents, with the addition of 3 cents for each added horse or ox; every curricle, 16 cents; a chaise or other one horse carriage, 12½ cents; a man and horse, 5 cents; a two-horse sled or sleigh, 9 cents, with an added 3 cents for each additional horse or ox; a one-horse sled or sleigh, 6 cents; large animals led or driven, 1 cent each; sheep and swine, 3 cents a dozen."

Section 2 relates to securing and holding the land, etc. Section 3 has to do with duties and responsibilities of gate keepers. Section 4 deals with the management of toll gates, fines for breaking them down, etc. Toll was not to be taken for passage to and from public worship, or to and from regular labor, or to and from mill,

and for passage upon family concerns within the limits of the town. Section 5 relates to the shares of the corporation; there were 1,020 shares, with a par value of \$25. Section 6 relates to the first meeting of the corporation; and those following, to matters of less present interest. Section 10 provides for dissolving the corporation by law whenever the income from tolls should have paid costs of construction and interest thereon at 12 per cent. Thereafter the road was to become the property of the Commonwealth. The by-laws provide for dividends twice a year and for bonds of gatekeepers. No one shareholder might for self or by proxy vote on more than one-fourth part of the total shares.

The Middle Road to Hartford from Boston, already a thoroughfare and stage route for half a century, was incorporated and built as a turnpike in 1806. Stock was at first sold at fifty dollars a share, and we can imagine the local bulls and bears watching the stock quotations in the *Farmers' Almanac* or some other equally frequent periodical, when, a little later on, the stock fell from its par value down to ten dollars, and finally became quite worthless when railways came in to usurp the profits of the pikes as a popular investment.

On this subject of old post and stage routes, of course the *Thomas Almanacs* of a hundred years ago furnish interesting information. For instance, the Almanac for 1807 proudly announces that over the Middle Road between Boston and Hartford, just finished as a turnpike, "a new line of stages" starts every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning at 5 o'clock, and arrives at Hartford the next day at 10 o'clock in the morning, a distance of less than one hundred miles. For the other and rival route, the Great Road by way of Worcester and Springfield, the New Connecticut Path of 1673, the Almanac of 1809 makes this proud announcement concerning the New York mail coach: It "sets off from Daggett's Inn every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday at 3 o'clock, a. m., arrives at Worcester at 11 a. m., Brookfield 2 p. m., Springfield 10 p. m. the same day, and arrives in New York the next day at 10 o'clock a. m. Note: Six dollars paid at Daggett's Inn will entitle to a seat from Boston to Hartford." Two full days and four hours for a journey from Boston to New York—a journey that we of the third generation later make almost within the "four hours," and so save the two days for a run on to Chicago and back.

Very much has been said and written about the friendliness and the romance of stage-coach and tavern days—an invaluable contribution to the literature of history. With the opening of the Western Railroad across the length of Massachusetts, in 1841, all this romance began to disappear. My purpose has been a modest and unpoetic one. I have wished just to glance over the portion of the history of transportation embraced within the narrow limits of road development during the transition from Indian trail to turnpike. No less than in more recent continent-wide and complicated undertakings, I fancy these earlier adventurers upon new fields of science and finance felt the thrill of original exploit and enterprise. They too were hazarding property and reputation upon fresh ventures in public service. They were building highways for the future. They too were doing more than building roads for travel and transportation when they prepared better ground for foot or runner or tire. They too were doing their part in bringing men and races together for the friendly and peaceful exercise of trade. They too were opening avenues for the interchange of something better than dollars and goods; they were engineering highways for the more prompt and complete interchange of thought and sympathy and aspiration. *Road building is a high calling.*

You recall, perhaps, the passage in Macaulay's, Chapter 3, of his "History": "Every improvement of the means of locomotion benefits mankind morally and intellectually as well as materially, and facilitates not only the interchange of the various productions of nature and art, but tends to remove national and provincial antipathies, and to bind together all branches of the great human family." I began my paper with the thought of civilization as quite largely suggested in the history of road making of one sort or another. But roads are more than just so much ground set apart for public travel. How much is packed into three sentences of Horace Bushnell: "If you wish to know whether society is stagnant, learning scholastic, religion a dead formality, you may learn something by going into universities and libraries; something also by the work that is doing on cathedrals and churches, or in them; but quite as much by looking at the roads. For if there is any motion in society, the Road, which is the symbol of motion, will indicate the fact. When there is activity, or enlargement, or a

liberalizing spirit of any kind, then there is intercourse and travel, and these require roads. . . . Nothing makes an inroad without making a road. All creative action, whether in government, industry, thought, or religion, creates roads."

So I was right in speaking of roads as a sign of civilization. Observe the roads a community builds and you may know the quality of the civilization there. There are many kinds of roads. The buffaloes were excellent road makers, of a sort: they did excellent pioneer work both as surveyors and as road-way builders, and Indians and white men alike profited by their intelligence. There are roads for hoof and for moccasined foot. There are roads for broad iron tires and for narrow, and for rubber tires as well. There are roads for heavy and for light traffic in commodities. But most important is the fact that there are roads for the traffic in those imponderable things we call ideas, and for this traffic the material road way is but a means to an end. To "make straight in the desert a highway" for thought and aspiration and widening wisdom is the real, though often unrecognized, goal of all engineering. Macadamized or tarvia or cement road bed is the symbol of the "highway for our God," over which the helpful messages from nation to nation, and from generation to generation, may be borne—over which true enlightenment, high purpose, a widening human sympathy, a clearer sense of beauty, a keener sense of justice, may travel. Have you read "Christopher Hibbault, Road Maker," by Marguerite Bryant? There is true philosophy in the passage, p. 139, where the young hero of the story declares his purpose in life: "I want to be a Road-maker. To make high roads,—not in towns, but across countries. Roads that will be easy to travel on and will last" . . . "a good vision" . . . "a picture of countless toiling human beings travelling on his roads all down the coming ages, knowing them for good roads, and praising the maker." . . . "We are all of us Road-makers of one kind or another," went on Mr. Aston meditatively, "making the way rougher or smoother for those who come after us. Happy if we only succeed in rolling in a few of the stones that hurt our own feet."

U. WALDO CUTLER

ELLERY BICKNELL CRANE

Ellery Bicknell Crane, son of Robert Prudden and Almira Crane, was born in Colebrook, N. H., November 12, 1836. Soon after the birth of his son, the father moved to Beloit, Wisconsin, the mother and child following shortly afterward. They made their home in Beloit until 1860, and then the young man went to California. He had received his education in Beloit. He spent nearly two years on the Pacific Coast, returning to New York in 1862 by way of the Panama route, going then to Boston, and ultimately to Worcester. He located in Worcester in 1867, and spent the remainder of his life in that city. He conducted a lumber business, first on Madison Street, later on Shrewsbury Street. In July, 1900, a fire destroyed the lumber yard on Shrewsbury Street, and thereafter Mr. Crane gave up active business.

Always profoundly interested in historical and genealogical research, Mr. Crane was a charter member of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, later the Worcester Historical Society. He served as its Vice-President in 1880, as its President from 1881 to 1892 inclusive, and again from 1900 to 1902. He was made Librarian in 1903 and filled this position until 1920, when he was elected Librarian Emeritus, and he held this title at the time of his death, July 4, 1925.

Mr. Crane published many papers on historical and genealogical subjects, also several far more pretentious works including "The Rawson Family Memorial," and "The Crane Family," the latter in two volumes. He also served as Supervising Editor of the monumental "Historic Homes and Institutions" and "Genealogical and Personal Memories of Worcester County."

A Republican in politics, Mr. Crane served in both branches of the city government and in both houses of the State Legislature. He was a member of many organizations in city, state and nation, and held numerous positions of trust and honor.

Mr. Crane married, in 1859, Miss Salona A. Rawson, daughter of George and Lois Aldrich Rawson. One son, Morton Rawson Crane, survives the parents.

The Society of Antiquity, the present Worcester Historical Society, has owed much to its founders and early friends and helpers. To none has it owed more than to Ellery Bicknell Crane, who worked ceaselessly for its prosperity and success, and who gave freely and ungrudgingly of his time, his money, and his energy, in its behalf.

ZELOTES W. COOMBS

ADELINE MAY

Miss Adeline May, for many years an officer as well as a member of this Society, whose meetings she regularly attended until the infirmities of age prevented, died on the 18th of June, 1918, at her home in Leicester.

Miss May was born in Leicester on the 4th day of September, 1836, and was the daughter of the Rev. Samuel and Sarah Russell May. Her father, in 1833, shortly after graduating from the Theological Seminary, preached in the then recently organized Unitarian Church in Leicester and was called to be its pastor in the following year, remaining until 1846, when he resigned. The recipient of the not over generous salary of \$600 a year, he had voluntarily cut it down to \$400 as funds were hard to raise.

A leader in the antislavery agitation, he later became secretary of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, which position he held until 1865, when the passage of the 13th Amendment made such agitation no longer necessary.

As John White Chadwick wrote of him in 1899, in a most interesting article in the *New England Magazine* under the title of "Samuel May of Leicester," "his valedictory in the last number but one of the *Liberator* rings as triumphantly as Miriam's song, but with an undertone of tenderness, a sentiment of regret that the round table should be broken up and all its goodly knights scattered upon different ways."

From that time to his death he lived the life of a good citizen, surrounded by his books, and ever maintaining an open, hospitable home, to which many came from afar to meet and converse with this man, rich in the memories of the past and yet abreast with the many live and pressing questions of the day.

Her father was the son of Samuel and Mary Goddard May, this Samuel being a distinguished, much respected and prosperous Boston merchant. Mary Goddard May, his wife, was noted for her broad and philanthropic views, and her granddaughter, Adeline, spent many months of the last years of her grandmother's life with her.

The half-brother of Miss May's great-grandmother, on her mother's side, was William Dawes, who shared with Paul Revere the task of arousing the country side on April 19, 1775, but whose

fame is less widely known than that of his companion as no poet made him immortal.

With such an ancestry and in such a home, with its reputation for delightful hospitality, maintained to the present time, Miss May lived her life. No wonder that she was the woman that she was.

With the exception of a few months at a private school in Boston she received her early education for the most part at the old Leicester Academy.

"Miss Addie," as her friends loved to call her, had a unique personality, a woman of the old school. The writer well recalls the first time he met her. It was at a meeting of this Society, and, as they boarded a street car, he started to pay her fare. She put out her hand and said—"I hope you won't mind, but I always prefer to pay my own fare."

She had a rare sense of humor, a graciousness of manner, and spent her life in devotion to others, with a high sense of duty. "Now what is my duty in this. I want to do my part."—she often said. She was wont to visit her sick neighbors, even late at night. It made no difference who they were. Where there was suffering, there was Miss May. She would silently creep out of her home with some hot drink or some nourishing and tempting food late at night, tap on the window or door of some home where there was suffering, leave whatever she brought, inquire if there was not something more she could do, and then depart as silently as she came. Even suffering animals were not overlooked in her midnight ministrations.

With this kindness and love for service was a remarkable independence of conviction and expression of her ideas. She was accustomed to attend town meetings. On one occasion she occupied a seat near the front, busily knitting as usual. During the discussion of some measure a voter made a statement upholding certain lawlessness among the boys. Miss May could not hear this go unchallenged. She arose and asked of the moderator the privilege of addressing the meeting. Upon its being granted she proceeded to tell, in no uncertain language, her views of upholding lawlessness. Something had been said that was *wrong* and she must correct it. Later she remarked to a friend—"When I left that hall I thought how like Father I am."

Miss May had a treasure house of hymns and poetry stored away in memory, opened whenever the occasion presented itself, in conversation or in company. On one occasion, at the funeral of a child who had died under most distressing circumstances, she arose after the pastor had closed his remarks, and asked if she could add a few words. Thereupon she recited parts of Longfellow's "Resignation":

"There is no flock however watch'd and tended
But one dead Lamb is there.
There is no fireside, howsoe'er defended
But has one vacant chair." etc.

This she did without premeditation, and later remarked to a friend that she had never been more frightened than when she sat down and thought it over.

Miss May was a strong advocate of temperance, and, from 1880 to 1892, was president of the local Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She felt that her work with this organization was perhaps her most effective, and often said—"I can never thank Father enough for urging me to join the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Without that I would never have come in contact with people outside of my circle of acquaintances, socially, intellectually and religiously. It has been an eye opener to me, to meet the convictions and high ideals of women of other walks in life."

She had been secretary of the Leicester Branch of the Baldwinville Hospital Cottages from its beginning, in 1891, and was rarely absent from its meetings. Only two weeks before her death its usual meeting was held at her house. She was in her usual place with her work before her, but her eyesight (always poor) had so failed that she could not read her report, but she entered into the spirit of the meeting as usual.

As a member, and for fifteen years Regent of the Col. Henshaw Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a loyal member and regular attendant of the Worcester County League of Unitarian Women, and president of the Leicester Branch of Unitarian Women, she took an active part in these organizations. She was a woman of strong religious convictions and a devoted member and worker in the Unitarian Church.

She said to her nurse the day before she died:—"Do you think my father is in this room?"—and on being asked what she thought, said—"I think he is right here." She *knew* that there would be a life beyond this *together*; it was her abiding conviction. She never had a moment's doubt about it. She was sure that she should know and see with spiritual eyes those whom she had "loved long since and lost awhile."

To have known Miss May was a privilege. The world is better for her having lived in it, and her memory will linger long in the hearts of all who came in touch with her sweet and strong personality.

EDWARD T. ESTY

MAJOR EDWARD TILLEY RAYMOND

Edward T. Raymond, or Major Raymond as he was known for so many years to the citizens of this city, was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, on the eighth day of August, 1844. His parents were Tilley Raymond and Mercy Raymond, and a house on Mechanic Street was his birthplace.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Ned Raymond, as he was familiarly called by his closest friends, was a student at the Highland Military Academy. No sooner did hostilities actually commence, than he begged permission of his father to enlist, but was refused. Finally his father gave way to his insistent pleadings, and within a few minutes of the time that the permission was given, Raymond appeared before a recruiting officer and enlisted in Co. K of the 25th Mass. Vol. Inf. At the date of his enlistment, August 6th, 1861, he was not quite seventeen years of age, but was at once made a sergeant on account of his military education. He served as a sergeant with this regiment on the expedition to Roanoke Island, and participated in the engagements at Roanoke Island, and New Berne, N. C.

During the fall of 1862, Gov. Andrew decided to officer some of the new regiments being raised at home with men who had seen active service at the front, and accordingly each Company commander of each Massachusetts Regiment in the field was requested to recommend to Headquarters at Boston one man from his company for a commission. Raymond was informed by his Company commander, Captain Denny, that he had been recommended, but was told not to set his heart on it, as undoubtedly he would never hear of it again. To the great surprise of both, word came that Ed. T. Raymond had been commissioned 1st Lieutenant in the 36th Mass. Vol. Inf., then being organized, and Raymond was accordingly discharged from the 25th Regiment, August 26th, 1862, to accept the new position. He was with the Army of the Potomac at the battle of Fredericksburg, and later was sent west with Burnside's Corps, where he participated in the siege of Vicksburg. Later in the siege of Knoxville, Tenn., he was sent with fifty men to protect some stores and was told not to be seen again if he did not protect the stores. He was subsequently recalled; otherwise he would never have been seen again.

On January 30th, 1863, he was promoted to the rank of Captain on the recommendation of Col. Bowman of his regiment, who solicited a leave of absence and went back to Massachusetts for the sole purpose of having Raymond commissioned Captain to fill a vacancy which had recently occurred in the regiment.

In this connection, it might be stated that there has been some discussion among various writers on Civil War topics as to who was the youngest commissioned officer during the war. Col. Copp of Nashua, N. H., has written a book on his experiences, in which he claims that he was the youngest officer receiving a commission from the ranks, having been eighteen years, five months and eight days old when he received his first commission. When he was made a Lieutenant, Raymond was only eighteen years and fourteen days old, or four months and twenty-four days younger than Col. Copp, and was only eighteen years, five months and twenty-two days old when he was commissioned Captain. While still a Captain, Raymond was detailed as Assistant Inspector-General in the 9th Army Corps, and served as Brigade, Division and temporarily as Corps Assistant Inspector-General. While so serving, he was attached to the staffs of the following officers:

Col. Henry Bowman, acting as Brigade Commander
General David Morrison
General John I. Curtis
General S. G. Griffin
General J. J. Bartlett
General Robert B. Potter
General John B. Park
General A. E. Burnside.

In fact, he never returned to active duty with his regiment, but remained on staff duty all the remainder of his service. While on the staff of General Potter, he had the privilege and honor of escorting President Lincoln to the tent where General Potter lay wounded.

In the spring of 1864 he came back East with the 9th Corps, and served with the Army of the Potomac during the rest of the war.

He participated in the Battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Jones Farm, Bethesda Church, Cold Harbor, Siege of

Petersburg, including the assault of June 17th, 1864 and³ the explosion of the mine on July 30th, Weldon Railroad, Poplar Grove Church, Fort Steadman, and the final assault on Petersburg, April 3rd, 1865.

He was wounded in the thigh at the explosion of the mine, but was never confined to a hospital. At the battle of Weldon Railroad on August 19th, 1864, while carrying despatches from one part of the field to another, he was captured and his orderly killed by a party of Confederates. While his captor was trying to get him off his horse, he dug in his spurs and made a dash for it, and escaped without a scratch. For this exploit he was brevetted Major. From May, 1864, to June 4th, 1864, Raymond had five horses shot under him, but seemed himself to live a charmed life. On one of these occasions, his horse was shot under him while he was riding across a part of the battlefield in the direct path of the musketry fire of the enemy. Notwithstanding the extreme peril of his situation and to the amazement of thousands of onlookers on both sides, Raymond deliberately unbuckled his saddle from the dead body of his horse and brought it back with him to his own lines.

On November 13th, 1864, he was made a full Major, being then only twenty years of age. At the close of the war, Major Raymond was recommended for a commission in the regular army by General Park, his Corps commander. His inclination was very strongly to accept, but being an only son, his father and mother felt that after four years of military service he had been away from them long enough, and entreated him to refuse the appointment and return home, which he did.

Of all the men furnished by Worcester during the Civil War, few, if any, possessed military qualities more respected and admired by his comrades than Major Raymond. He was not only a born soldier, but also in addition the beau ideal of a soldier. Soldierly and erect in bearing, handsome in form and feature, absolutely without knowledge of fear, a perfect horseman, sitting his horse as if he were a part of it, he was both in fact and appearance every inch a soldier.

He loved the military life and everything that was a part of it. When the news of the surrender of Lee was received, a brother officer exclaimed to Raymond, "Thank God this war is over!"

Raymond replied to the effect that he had never enjoyed anything so much in his whole life, and was disappointed personally to have it come to an end. This reply was not for effect: it did not indicate a pose. It was characteristic of the man. He loved everything that was military, and it was the one great regret of his life that he did not accept the proffered commission in the regular army and remain in the service. Although less than twenty-one years old when mustered out, the period of his military service was to him the most vital part of his whole career.

He lived the life over and over again by himself and with his old comrades. He accumulated an extensive library of military literature and gathered together an interesting collection of relics of his own battlefields, as well as of others, and, surrounded by these in his own library in his leisure moments, he enjoyed himself to the utmost. To all who knew him, the soldier could never be disassociated from the rest of the man. To the end of his life the military characteristics predominated.

After the war, Raymond was appointed successively inspector of the custom house and superintendent of bonded warehouses in the U. S. Internal Revenue Department for the ports of Boston and Charlestown. During the period of his holding this office, he studied law and was admitted to the Bar of the Commonwealth in March, 1880. In December, 1881, he was appointed by Governor John D. Long, clerk of the Central District Court, to fill the vacancy caused by the election of Col. T. S. Johnson as clerk of the Superior Court. At the expiration of his second term, having been reappointed once by Governor Robinson, Governor Russell, a Democrat himself, appointed a Democrat to the position, although a petition signed by 2000 people requesting Major Raymond's retention in the office was presented at the State House. He accepted then the position of Secretary of the Board of Trade, but after a year in that office, resigned and became City Marshal, the name by which the head of the Police Department was then designated. This office he held until in 1896 he resigned to accept a reappointment as clerk of the Central District Court by the then acting Governor-Lieutenant, Governor Wolcott, and continued to hold that position by appointment for term after term until on account of failing health he resigned, a few weeks before his death, which occurred November 9th, 1913.

While City Marshal, or Chief of Police, Major Raymond made use of the same qualities which characterized his military service. He instituted the strictest discipline in the police department, and was the first police head to publish the meritorious conduct of a patrolman. One or two stories told of him while in this position show the absolute fearlessness of the man and his willingness to brave any kind of danger.

A certain reprobate named Bat Leary, who had been prosecuted by the police and convicted and sent over to Summer Street, made threats before he came out as to what he was going to do to Raymond, whom he considered responsible for his trouble. He even threatened he would take his life. One night after his release from jail, Raymond, while making the rounds of his men, ran across Leary, both being alone. Raymond at once walked right up to Leary and said, "Here I am, Bat. What are you going to do to me?" Needless to say Bat did not do anything at this time.

Word came to the Police Headquarters that a murder had been committed, and that the murderer had taken refuge in a barn, where, armed with a knife, he threatened anyone who came near him. Raymond at once jumped into his carriage, standing in front of the station, and without waiting for any assistance drove to the barn and went right in and arrested the murderer, all alone. Major Raymond acted as Chief of the Staff for Gen. Pickett at several of the parades held in Worcester after the Civil War, and acted as Chief Marshal himself at the semi-centennial parade in 1898, and the great Fourth of July parade of 1892, and at the parade at the dedication of the General Devens statue. In addition, he was a member of the General Devens statue commission and was also appointed on several other military commissions, the principal one being the commission having in charge the building and dedication of a monument at Petersburg by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in memory of the troops from this state who took part in the siege and battle at that place. He was also a delegate of the 36th Massachusetts Regiment at the dedication at Vicksburg of the monument to the 36th, 29th, and 35th Massachusetts Regiments. By appointment of Governor Greenhalge, he was a member of the commission to locate the position of the Massachusetts troops at Antietam.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he was selected by Governor Wolcott for the colonelcy of one of the five volunteer regiments which it was planned to raise from this state. For certain reasons this plan had to be abandoned, but Major Raymond, although at that time over fifty years of age, was ready and eager to see service again.

Among his other duties during a very busy lifetime, membership on the school committee of the City of Worcester for several years was also included.

Few men in recent years in Worcester have been better known and more respected and admired than the subject of this brief sketch. Irrespective of his military qualities, to which allusion has already been made, he was a man who inspired confidence and won regard from every one. His long years of service as clerk of the Central District Court brought him into contact with thousands of people from all classes of life, and to all he was the same courteous, dignified public official with an attitude of respectful reverence to the Court, but always impressing every one with the manliness of his nature, the vigor and the strength of his personality and, above all, with the predominant characteristic of leadership. In other words, Major Raymond was a man born to lead other men, and upon a larger field of action, and especially, if he had been allowed to follow his inclination for a military career, he would without question have achieved a position of national rather than local prominence.

GEORGE R. STOBBS

The
Worcester Historical Society
Publications

New Series
Vol. 1, No. 3

April, 1930



Published by
The Worcester Historical Society
Worcester, Massachusetts

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FOREWORD

Two years ago, after an interval of fifteen years, this Society resumed the task of publishing from time to time some of the papers read at our meetings. In view of our limited resources, this was done with much hesitation and only in a small way. It was hoped that we might do better from year to year, and the accumulation of valuable material seemed to demand some effort toward its preservation in printed form.

No. 3 of the New Series is here put before our public in the hope that it may prove of interest, even though in its outward form it is far from representing our ideal of what we would like to have our successive publications to be.

It is our purpose to have the paging continuous throughout the several numbers making up a volume. By oversight this principle was not observed in No. 2. In No. 3 allowance is made for the forty-five pages of No. 2, and the paging continues from the point where that of No. 2 should have ended.

HIGH POINTS IN EARLY WORCESTER POLITICS

Paper read to the Worcester Historical Society by
Chandler Bullock, April 13, 1928

The subject assigned to me is "High Points in Early Worcester Polities." The subject, of course, is full of human interest, and I have only time to touch upon two episodes. Some day, perhaps, I may have another opportunity to deal with other happenings of a political tinge in Worcester's earlier history. But this evening I will touch only two widely separated events.

Because of my unfortunate ancestry I am absolutely disqualified from being a Son of the American Revolution, and so I know you will pardon me if I go back to the period immediately following the American Revolution, and write of Timothy Paine, one of my ancestors on the maternal side. One of the episodes in which he figures, and which I shall briefly sketch this evening, is the election to the first Congress of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States was finally adopted by all but two of the thirteen colonies in the early part of 1788, and it then went into effect, although two colonies did not ratify it until a year or two later. The first Congressional election was held in the fall of 1788. It was left to the new states, as it is now, under the Constitution, to apportion their territory into Congressional districts. There was also left to the states the method of election.

Massachusetts was duly apportioned by her Legislature, and the Congressional district that contained Worcester was Worcester County,—the county substantially as it now stands. There were no parties, of course, firmly established in that formative period—no regularly constituted parties. But the old Loyalist influence and the business and professional men who had adhered to England—and had not been driven into exile—formed the nucleus of a party. The Revolutionary group, who had been successful in their effort at separation from the mother country, constituted admittedly at that time the predominant element. But the element was not so predominant as is popularly supposed—even after the Revolution. That is what I desire to show by means of actual figures of votes in this first Congressional election.

It was John Adams who said in his well-known diary—and nobody now doubts the fact—that at the commencement of the Revolution and largely throughout the conflict, only one third of the colonists were Whigs or so-called patriots. John Adams admits that at least one third were Loyalists or so-called Tories, and remained so throughout the Revolution. The other one third of the population was just waiting to see where the cat jumped. It was the Whig group who desired separation and were the more vigorous and the more united—and that minority succeeded in having its way—as a strongly organized, vigorous minority generally does hew through to success. Mind you, I am not suggesting any regret for our great American Revolution—I am but rehearsing cold facts as shown by contemporary writers and the local newspaper of the period.

Now let us turn to the first Congressional election in 1788, and to the candidates for Congress in this district. There were three candidates, Timothy Paine, Artemas Ward, a Revolutionary general who resided in Shrewsbury, and Jonathan Grout, a Revolutionary soldier, of Petersham. One Moses Gill of Princeton competed for a time, but soon disappeared. Two Whigs and one sympathizer with the old mother country were the real contenders. Timothy Paine was unquestionably a Tory. Franklin P. Rice, in his "*Worcester District in Congress*," describes him as one of firm Tory sympathies.

Timothy Paine and John Chandler and Judge Putnam were the three leading opponents to separation from England in Worcester. Paine was so much of a Tory he had two sons throughout the Revolution who were on the payroll of the English Army, Samuel Paine and William Paine. A word about William Paine. William Paine served on the Medical Staff of the British Army of Occupation throughout the entire Revolution. In brief, William Paine was fighting against his own fellow citizens in the Medical Corps of the British Army. It was William Paine who tended and helped bring back to health and to fighting pitch the Hessians, hired to come over and fight the colonists. Not only did William Paine thus serve during the Revolution, but when his father, Timothy Paine, ran for Congress, William Paine was still serving in the English Army and drawing pay from the English Government, by and with the approval of his father, Timothy Paine.

Timothy Paine was one of the Loyalists who signed the famous protest against disloyalty. He was a Mandamus Counsellor, appointed by the Royal Governor in 1774, and he had been Clerk of Courts under Crown appointment and also Register of Probate. There is no question that Timothy Paine was a dyed-in-the-wool Tory, so called. He was entirely out of sympathy with the separation from England. He did not want to run for the first Congress of the United States, but he was urged to by the group who were still opposed to most of the ideas and theories of the Whigs, or so-called patriot party. These old Loyalists wanted someone in the first American Congress who would help protect them from what they feared might be a further confiscation of the property of those who had remained loyal to Great Britain.

So Timothy Paine ran for Congress. It is perfectly true that against him the Whigs divided into two groups, one for Jonathan Grout, a Revolutionary private, and one for General Artemas Ward, a Revolutionary General. But imagine the situation. If there had been any unanimity of Revolutionary spirit, Timothy Paine would never have dared to run or never would have got any votes had he dared. Can you imagine a Copperhead, so called, during the Civil War, or after the Civil War, even attempting to run for the Congress of the United States in any of the northern states, such as Massachusetts? Can you imagine immediately after the recent World War one who had a son actually fighting with the German Army that opposed our soldiers, running for Congress in any district of the United States? But Timothy Paine, the firm opponent of separation from Great Britain, did run for the first American Congress.

What was the result? Mind you, one of the candidates was Artemas Ward, an American Revolutionary General. If sentiment in Worcester or Worcester County had then even approached any substantial predominance on the Revolutionary issue, Artemas Ward would have won by a large majority. He would have been lifted into the Congressional chair by a great applauding majority. He was not so lifted. He did not even win this election to the First Congress of these United States. It required three separate elections and the earnest appeal of Isaiah Thomas, and the application of all his political ability and newspaper influence, to finally elect on the third trial a Whig, or so-called patriot, and so finally

defeat Timothy Paine, the Tory. The cold recorded facts are always interesting though they sometimes dent our encrusted traditions.

Another interesting thing about the first Congressional election is the small number who cared to vote in Worcester; who cared to exercise that franchise of freedom which the history books tell us was so earnestly sought for by the early patriots.

The first attempt at election was held December 18, 1788. There were approximately two hundred males in Worcester itself, the town of Worcester, qualified to vote. What was the vote in this first election? I refer to the *Massachusetts Spy*, issue of December 25, 1788. The vote in the town of Worcester was as follows: Timothy Paine, opponent of separation, 45; Jonathan Grout, 26; Artemas Ward, Revolutionary General, much less than Grout. However, no one got a majority in the whole district, though Jonathan Grout was in the lead in the entire Congressional District.

In those days, of course, it took a long time to collect the vote, even throughout the county. In the *Massachusetts Spy* of January 15, 1789, after the votes had been tabulated, the results appear as follows in Worcester Congressional district: Whole number of votes cast, 1886; this is the whole district. It took 944 votes for a choice, just over one half. The total vote was, Jonathan Grout, 665; Timothy Paine, opponent to separation from England, 561; and Artemas Ward, Revolutionary General, only 284. There were 110 scattering votes for others, mostly for Moses Gill of Princeton, who then dropped out of the contest. This necessitated a second election.

Then there appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy* an appeal to vote. Here was the American Revolution newly won, and according to the schoolbook histories of America, the free men of Massachusetts were inflamed with enthusiasm, desirous of expressing themselves at the first balloting ever held under the Constitution of the New United States. In the *Massachusetts Spy* of January 22, 1789, appears the following:

"Every patriot must have been alarmed at the slimness of the number of votes returned into the secretary's office for representatives to the Congress of the United States. The privilege to choose the men with whom our lives and property are to be entrusted will not be trifled with by those who realize its worth."

Then follows in the old *Massachusetts Spy* the same appeal for votes, for the exercise of the franchise, that you read in every election nowadays. The language, the very note of pessimism, are almost identical with the present day calls to the electorate.

The second attempt to select a representative to Congress and to beat Timothy Paine, the opponent of separation, was held on December 29, 1788. I will not burden you with the details, but on the second attempt Timothy Paine, the old Loyalist, got the greatest number of votes. He stood first. Yet no one received a majority. The vote on the second attempt, according to the *Massachusetts Spy*, and it admits the figures are approximate and not definitely accurate, but substantially so, was as follows: Timothy Paine received about 1000 votes; Jonathan Grout, 900; and Artemas Ward, the Revolutionary General, about 300 votes.

Then Isaiah Thomas, the able printer, the staunch Whig, and at the same time the effective politician, took a more vigorous hand in trying to beat Timothy Paine, the Tory. All his efforts were apparently needed. Isaiah Thomas wrote the following in the *Massachusetts Spy*: "The indifference which generally prevails in most all elections throughout this commonwealth, where most important interests are concerned, ought to provide a stimulus to everyone who has his country's interest at heart to endeavor to arouse the people to a sense of their duty." And so forth, and so forth.

I am reading these extracts from the *Massachusetts Spy* of 1788 and 1789 simply to show you that our forefathers, even immediately after the Revolution, with their new freedom, which should have been jealously exercised in the vote for the first Congress of the United States, were just as negligent as we are today in exercising the privilege of the ballot, after seventy Congressional elections. As a matter of fact, considering the number of then registered voters, they were more indifferent than we are today.

To get back to Isaiah Thomas. He burnished up all his weapons to beat the old Loyalist, Paine. He says, in what you may describe as a sort of editorial in the *Spy*, and I quote:

"Unity of sentiment is earnestly recommended on the 2nd of March election." [Mind you, this is the third attempt to beat Timothy Paine.] "It is hoped the yeomanry of Worcester will no longer suffer themselves to be divided and distracted by a baneful

spirit, which is industriously fomented, not only by the open and professed enemies of our country, who still pursue their favored maxim of ‘Divide and rule,’ [Here he is referring to Timothy Paine and the Non-Separatists.] but also by those who seek their own emolument.” By that last phrase, of course, Thomas refers either to Jonathan Grout, or to the other Whig candidate, General Artemas Ward, as a self-seeking politician. We do not know from the records now which one he does refer to. But neither Grout nor General Ward withdrew, whichever one was “seeking his own emolument,” as Thomas says.

Thomas in the *Spy* then goes on, “Shake off your lethargy, fellow citizens, and unite and vote, so the Glorious Revolution will not have been in vain.” Note that—that is how the patriot party felt concerning Paine.

Isaiah Thomas then proceeded to show that his newspaper had more influence on the ballot than is oftentimes shown today by our newspapers. His party finally won. It was Grout who finally won out. The total vote in the Worcester County Congressional district was as follows: Grout, 1,553; Timothy Paine, described by Thomas, as I have just read to you as “An open and professed enemy of his country,” had 1,169 votes; and Artemas Ward, Revolutionary General, had 187 votes.

As far as can be figured, this total vote in the Worcester County Congressional district was not much more than 50 per cent of those entitled to vote in this vote of the first American Congress. In any event we know the proportion of those who voted to those who could vote was substantially less than this district has voted in the last five Presidential elections. It might interest you, incidentally, to know the vote in Worcester, the town of Worcester. The vote was, Timothy Paine, Tory, 62; Jonathan Grout, one less, or 61. General Artemas Ward had 15. There is the drama of conflicting interests expressed in the ballot-box by almost a tie vote. In aristocratic Lancaster the vote was, Paine, 60; Grout, 20; General Ward, 3.

The final success of the Whigs, after these three bitter conflicts at the polls in the first Congressional election, naturally led Isaiah Thomas to very properly rejoice. He does so in the *Massachusetts Spy* of March 5, 1789, when he says: “It may be said now that we are politically new born. Heaven grant our second birthdate may be productive of permanent felicity.”

I quote Thomas and use his language as to the second birthdate of political freedom, merely to emphasize the point that cannot be passed over, one that Thomas knew, which is that even at that date after the Revolution, the English party, who distrusted the ideals and the personnel of the patriot party, were still in evidence here and could be broken and beaten in the first Congressional election only by a most vigorous effort in Worcester by the so-called patriot party.

Frankly, in many of our school histories there is some "bunk."

It certainly is far more interesting to study the past from contemporary evidence and data than from school books or histories, so often colored by the writer's viewpoint. Such a study discloses the fact that our predecessors in the world were so very human, just as chock-full of human weaknesses and prejudices as we are. Their better natures were usually predominant and in control, as we hope ours may be today. Our ancestors were no different than we are, no more idealistic on the one hand, or no more selfish on the other. It is when we see the little weaknesses of those who have gone before all mixed in with their other finer qualities that we begin to love them. It is a study of accurate history that makes us love them. None of us can love a paragon of virtue. Heaven preserve us from the paragons, and from all the Parson Weems who write of them. I speak of the Parson Weems who wrote that absurd Life of George Washington which glorified him beyond the point where he seems a human being.

The study of history is so absorbingly fascinating because it discloses that eternal lack of unanimity as to ideals—as to political movements and thought. There is no unanimity except in a graveyard. It is that lack of unanimity which makes the human drama, and brings about the conflict of opposing forces and opposing theories. Without this drama in history—without this human and earthly element—the study of history would not interest the intelligent.

— — — —

And now we will jump sixty years of Worcester political history and pass to 1848.

In the summer and early fall of 1848, the newly-formed Free Soil Party was boiling over in Worcester. What happened in Sep-

tember of 1848 after this Free Soil movement had started? In 1848 one Abraham Lincoln was thirty-nine years old, a Whig member from Illinois in the Federal Congress. He was an unimportant member. Also in 1848 a rather obscure man then of thirty-two was chairman of the Whig City Committee of Worcester. Parties then, as now, had their respective city committees. There was the Democratic City Committee, the party of Jefferson, and the Whig City Committee. The name of the chairman of the Whig City Committee was Alexander H. Bullock.

On September 12, 1848, the state Whig convention was to be held in Worcester, and the young chairman of the local Whig City Committee was very busy helping to organize the convention and to make the stay of the delegates in the city interesting. Abraham Lincoln, the Whig Congressman of Illinois, arrived in Worcester without escort and without attention on September 11. The local Congressman was Charles Hudson, a Whig. He did not, on the evidence, invite Lincoln to come to the city. The Whig State Committee sent up word to Bullock, the chairman of the Whig City Committee, that a Whig member from Illinois might be in town, but did not suggest that he was an important factor or that he should speak at any of the gatherings.

Because of the activities and the enthusiasm of the newly-formed Free Soil Party, the more prominent citizens of Worcester and also of the state were leaving the Whig party as rats desert a sinking ship. Chairman Bullock of the local Whig committee desired to have, as was customary, a pre-convention gathering the night before. Such meetings were held in the City Hall. He had several prominent speakers scheduled for the evening before, but they had withdrawn. They had either joined in the Free Soil Party—or they were afraid to appear in behalf of the Whig Presidential candidate, Taylor the slaveholder. So young Bullock was left without anyone to speak at the City Hall meeting. In the late afternoon he remembered that he had heard of the Whig member from Illinois being in the city, and he went out to find him. He found him in front of the hotel then called the Worcester House, which was at the corner of Main and Elm Streets, where the so-called Workman Block now stands. There he stood on our own Main Street, this now hero of history, amid the falling leaves of the autumn twilight of September 11, 1848.

On June 1, 1865, A. H. Bullock delivered an eulogy in Mechanics Hall after the death of Mr. Lincoln, in which he made these statements:

"At that time I met him in the streets of Worcester. Congress had just adjourned when our Whig State Convention assembled here in 1848. As the chosen head of the City Committee of the Party with which he acted, I had called a public meeting in yonder hall for the evening preceding the convention and had invited several gentlemen of note to make addresses. None of them came. But as the sun was descending I was told that Abraham Lincoln, member of Congress from Illinois, was staying at one of the hotels in town. I had heard of him before, and at once called upon him and made known my wish that he would address the meeting of the evening, to which he readily assented. . . . His address was one of the best it had ever been my fortune to hear, and left not one whit of bitterness behind. Some of you will remember all this, but not so distinctly as I do."

Bullock then proceeded in further eulogy of the martyred President.

Now of course in a public address of this kind, delivered after the death of President Lincoln, Bullock could not state in detail the entire story of that meeting between himself and Abraham Lincoln seventeen years before on September 11, 1848.

As I say, he met Lincoln on Main Street in front of the then Worcester House. He guessed who he was because he did not look like a Massachusetts man, and he was so conspicuously tall as to be noted. They retired into the lobby of the Worcester House and had an extended talk. During this talk Abraham Lincoln asked a great many questions, chiefly touching the growth of the Free Soil movement in Worcester and Massachusetts. This line of questioning was persistent.

Of course, this has come down through two generations, and all exact details cannot now be recorded. However, the central fact remains that Lincoln was ascertaining by repeated inquiries, of young Bullock of the Whig City Committee, the strength of the Free Soil Party movement in Worcester and the county through much of the interview. Bullock told him frankly of the general desertion of many prominent Whigs to the Free Soil Party, and stated that the Whigs were probably in a decided minority in the

city and in the county and their Party was daily becoming weaker and weaker. This information appeared to impress Lincoln a great deal.

After the questioning was over, young Bullock took up again the subject of what they should do that evening in the way of providing a speaker for the Whig night-before gathering. Both Lincoln and Bullock believed that they, as officeholders, one a Whig Congressman and the other a Whig chairman of the local city committee, felt still in duty bound to remain loyal to the Whig party organization. They still then believed genuinely that the Whig party that had put them in office was the party that could best combat the Democratic party. So Lincoln agreed to speak at the City Hall gathering that evening. He was not to speak at the convention next day. At that convention, Robert C. Winthrop and Rufus Choate, the two leading Whigs of the state, were to speak. Lincoln was just asked to speak at the evening before. Then Lincoln asked what he should speak about. They finally agreed, as Bullock said in 1865 in his eulogy of Lincoln, that Lincoln would simply use his own ready wit in presenting the side of the Whig party in the best possible light.

Bullock then saw to it that Lincoln was invited to the dinner held that night at the house of ex-Governor Lincoln before the City Hall gathering. So later they went to dine at ex-Governor Lincoln's house, which is the present Waldo Lincoln house on Elm Street. Choate and Winthrop and other big lights in the party were there; and Lincoln was not especially prominent at the dinner—any more than he was at the convention the next day. There was some little raillery passed between Abraham Lincoln and ex-Governor Lincoln on the fact that they were both named Lincoln. They had no conception of any relationship between each other, however distant. They both agreed that they were alike in one particular—and that was—that they were both good Whigs, and were neither Democrats nor of the new Free Soil party. Those were remarks that passed at that dinner at the house of ex-Governor Lincoln in September 1848.

That evening many of the delegates and other local Whigs of Worcester went to the City Hall. That is where Lincoln made his chief talk in Worcester. That talk was not reported at all in the *Worcester Spy*, which was the leading paper of Worcester

and was the Free Soil organ. The *National Aegis* in Worcester, the Whig paper, made this brief comment on Lincoln's speech:

"For sound and conclusive reasoning and ready opinion, it is unsurpassed in the campaign. It was listened to by a crowded audience with untiring interest, applauded during its delivery, and enthusiastically cheered at its close."

The only other paper anywhere that commented on this speech was the *Boston Advertiser*, a Whig paper. It commented favorably, and that paper, the *Advertiser*, devoted more than a column of its space to the speech.

"Mr. Lincoln has a very tall and thin figure, with an intellectual face showing a searching mind and a cool judgment. He spoke in a clear and cool and very eloquent manner for an hour and a half, carrying the audience with him in his able arguments and brilliant illustrations—only interrupted by warm and frequent applause.

"He began by expressing a real feeling of modesty in addressing an audience 'This side of the mountains,' a part of the country where, in the opinion of the people of his section, everybody was supposed to be instructed and wise. But he had devoted his attention to the question of the coming Presidential election, and was not unwilling to exchange with all whom he might meet the ideas to which he had arrived.

"Mr. Lincoln then passed to the subject of slavery in the States, saying that the people of Illinois agreed entirely with the people of Massachusetts on this subject, except perhaps that they did not keep so constantly thinking about it. All agreed that slavery was an evil, but that we were not responsible for it, and cannot affect it in States of this Union where we do not live."

I will not read the balance of the article.

Bullock's subsequent and private comments on the speech (which were not made for publication) were that it was a very clever political speech by a man of earnestness but of ready wit, logical and keen, rapier-like in some points—but not great or profoundly moving. Years afterward, Bullock stated to his children that his chief memories of Lincoln at that time were, first, his searching questions as to the strength of the Free Soil movement; second, his eyes; and third, his linen duster. Bullock stated to his son subsequently that the eyes of Lincoln impressed him more deeply than anything else. They were so kindly and seemed to view the world

and erring mankind generally so sympathetically. He remembered saying to himself he wondered where a man with such a look in his eyes would finally be led to. Yet Bullock and the other citizens of Worcester never thought of Abraham Lincoln again until his debate with Douglas some years later.

As to the linen duster, Bullock, as chairman of the pre-convention gathering at the City Hall, sat behind Lincoln after he had introduced him and so could observe him well. And when Lincoln was making his speech, he frequently kept both hands in the pockets of the linen duster; and as he got interested would roll up the linen duster in his fingers until it almost appeared like a reefer. And then he would release his hold, and the linen duster would fall down to its full length. Then he would start the whole process over anew, until he got to another climax when he would again release his fingers from the linen duster.

Young Bullock asked Lincoln to make another speech the morning of the convention, not at the convention, but at the railroad depot where the delegates from other parts of the state were entering the city. This morning gathering on convention days at the railroad depot was a very usual custom in campaigns before the Civil War. So Lincoln, with one or two others, spoke at the railroad depot in the morning of September 12, 1848. Of this depot gathering on the morning of the convention day, that good Free Soil paper, the *Worcester Spy*, makes this comment:

"At about nine o'clock the Taylor Club to the number of fifty or sixty, preceded by the Worcester Brass Band, proceeded from their headquarters to the Rail Road Depot where they met a portion of the Boston delegates, from whence they escorted them through one or two streets back to the depot where the citizens, numbering, we should say, some 700 to 800, were addressed by his Honor the Mayor of Worcester, by Mr. Taylor, Senator from Granby, almost a facsimile of old 'Zach' himself, by a Mr. Woodman of Boston, and by Mr. Abraham Lincoln, the recently defeated Taylor candidate in the Seventh Illinois district in Illinois for reelection to Congress. These gentlemen all said some good things that were rather witty, though truth and reason and arguments were treated, however, out of the question as unnecessary and not to be expected."

The late Albert Beveridge, who at the time of his death had not

finished writing a five or six volume life of Lincoln that aimed at complete impartiality, was in the city in the fall of 1925 while engaged in looking into Lincoln's visit in Massachusetts in the fall of 1848. He is of the conclusion that Lincoln was a political scout, (I am quoting Beveridge's words,—they are not mine), coming partly on his own account and partly at the instigation of the Whig National Committee. Senator Beveridge told this to the writer personally. It was Lincoln's purpose to ascertain the strength of the Free Soil Party movement in Massachusetts. Hence, Lincoln's keen questioning of young Bullock at their interview on that evening in the Lincoln House.

The immediate political effect of Lincoln's two speeches in Worcester was unimportant as far as Worcester citizens themselves were concerned. It is of interest to note that Worcester did not heed Abraham Lincoln's advice to vote the Whig ticket; but voted by a large majority for the third party ticket, the Free Soil ticket, and voted against the Whigs. The vote in Worcester for Congressman in that fall of 1848 is typical. It was as follows:

Isaac Davis, Democrat	284
Charles Hudson, Whig	589
Charles Allen, Free Soil	1,489

This was an overwhelming plurality against the Whig ticket of over 900 votes—all in spite of the plea of Abraham Lincoln, made personally in two speeches to our citizens of Worcester.

But let us note what was the indirect effect of Lincoln's visit to Worcester and Massachusetts in the fall of 1848. Let us note the effect on Lincoln himself. Ida Tarbell in her "Life of Lincoln" says, and I now quote from her book:

"He won something in New England of vastly deeper importance than a reputation for making popular campaign speeches. Here for the first time he caught a glimpse of the utter impossibility of ever reconciling the northern conviction that slavery was evil and unendurable and the southern claim that it was divine and necessary, and he began here to realize that something must be done. He experienced for the first time the full meaning of the 'Free Soil' sentiment, as the new abolition sentiment was called. Sensitive as Lincoln was to every shade of popular feeling and conviction, the sentiment in New England stirred him as he

had never been 'stirred' before on the question of slavery. It was toward the end of this visit that he said to Mr. Seward: 'We have got to deal with this slavery question, and have got to give much more attention to it hereafter than we have been doing.' "

All this is an interesting little episode of early Worcester. But taken in the light of subsequent history, the episode appears to be of some real significance. It contributed to the growth of Abraham Lincoln. It was something of a stepping-stone on his way to the stars.

(While most of the above statements on Lincoln's visit to Worcester are based on the evidence of Alexander H. Bullock, an actual participant in these scenes, I am indebted on a few points to the admirable paper of Chief Justice Arthur P. Rugg on this same subject.)

SOME WORCESTER CONTACTS WITH THE WASHINGTONIAN TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by
Frank Colegrove, March 13, 1925

I have used in the caption of this paper, the term *Washingtonian* Temperance Movement, without the intention of delimiting accurately or closely the bounds of our subject either in point of time or scope of matter, but as perhaps the most convenient *general* term to comprehend the whole temperance movement whose greatest force was manifested, roughly speaking, in the forties and the early fifties—and which, for this vicinity, is pretty well covered by the designation of Washingtonian. In fact it would be as difficult for us to cut the Washingtonian movement neatly out of the more general movements of that era as it would have been for Shylock to cut off the pound of flesh nearest Antonio's heart without reference to the rest of his person. It was in this region, as well as a good many other localities, the more or less accidental outlet for the great rising tide of temperance sentiment, which if it had not found this particular occasion, must soon have broken forth in some other form, and, with the whole temperance movement, was part and parcel of the still greater swelling flood of moral and humanitarian sentiment which deeply characterized that era. Temperance, emancipation, organized charities, prison reform, and many other such causes, were in the air, and their pursuit generated and developed the stern, serious-minded, yet infinitely tender-hearted champions of humanity whose memorials are of the glories of our history. Especially at about the time we are considering did the *social* character of the whole group of moral movements, as against the individualistic, become dominant.

Several things combined to make Worcester a strong center of activity and influence in this and the kindred movements—its traditional qualities of intelligence, freedom, morality, vigor and initiative; a comparatively rare sense, for the time, of the value of organized, co-operative work for social ends; and the unusual degree in which its wealth, culture and social influence were thrown into the contest.

Before proceeding to a very brief sketch of the specific Washingtonian movement, as related to Worcester, let us glance at its background, the general conditions and temper of the times in which it had its roots. With this object I will quote from the notes and reminiscences of those prominent and representative men and close observers of the time, Mr. E. S. Thomas, a nephew of Isaiah Thomas, and Mr. C. C. Baldwin, the distinguished librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, whose views seem to have coincided rather closely. Two points I think will appear with clearness; namely, such conditions of practice and widely held sentiments as point the need of reform, and the restless, seething counter forces presaging a not distant upheaval. Perhaps standing out most conspicuously is the passionate clinging to the individualistic point of view, as against the social—yet with a pathetic presentiment that they may be about to be overwhelmed by the new madness.

Mr. Thomas, in his "Reminiscences," speaking of drunkards and gluttons, contrasted much to the disadvantage of the latter, says, under date of May, 1829: "I have been led into the above remarks at this time, more particularly, from having seen an account in the Charleston, S. C., papers, of the formation of a Temperance Society in that city who go so far as to pledge themselves to use the influence of their society with the legislature to repeal the law granting licences for the sale of spirituous liquors! The excitement occasioned in that city by the formation of a society taking such liberty with the rights of their fellow citizens may be judged by the following, which I have selected from among the many communications with which the papers of that city abound." The quotation I omit. Mr. Thomas proceeds to say: "It happens (whether fortunately or unfortunately is a *moot* point) that we have a vast number of persons in the United States who, from their excess of patriotism, and having little to do, hit upon various modes of making themselves conspicuous, and the one of all others in which they appear to succeed the best is, IN MINDING EVERY BODY'S BUSINESS BUT THEIR OWN."

The following passage, under date of 1837, I quote, though its reference is to the abolition question, as showing the same lack of a sense of *civic* relations and responsibilities. To counteract just this attitude, the organized moral movements, *through societies*, came in.

"It is their own business. No free state has any right to meddle with it. Reason has triumphed over fanaticism, and for the present at least this exciting question is settled. God grant it may never again be resuscitated."

In March, 1838, he writes: "I love to look back upon the days of other years, and contrast them with those of the present. . . . Then there was no necessity for such a society as my *Every-man-mind-his-own-business-Society*, for no man thought of minding any thing else. . . . There were neither Conventions, Presbyteries nor Conferences in those days. . . . Then the school-master was at home, minding his business; now the school-master is abroad," and, he adds with deliciously unconscious inconsequence, "so is the assassin, the murderer, the robber, the thief and the gambler."

The following extracts from Mr. Baldwin's Diary trend much in the same directions:

"Sep. 19, 1833. This day met at Worcester the Massachusetts State Temperance Convention. Altogether they composed a body of great respectability, both as to virtue and intelligence. Plenty of ministers, lawyers and doctors among them. A satirical observer, however, if so inclined, might here and there pick out a red nose, which would contradict the sincerity of the convert to the doctrine of abstemious drinking. Yet for all this, I am greatly pleased with the efforts to reform the besotting practices of drunkenness. I drink wine, but as for ardent spirits, I have abstained almost totally from it for many years. I am not a member of a temperance society, contenting myself with the practice of virtue without extra preaching it to others. It is one of the faults of the day to occupy so much of our time in recommending the practice of virtue that we have no time left us to perform it."

Even before the date at which Mr. Baldwin was writing, much the same feeling was common as to the reformers. He repeats some anecdotes of a certain Dr. Mitchell, of New York, who used deliberately and regularly to get very drunk every day—and yet "his religious duties occupy a portion of each day." "We must not," says the doctor, "be surprised with some occasional singularities when every man in the community thinks himself a reformer. This is a peculiarity of the times in which we live."

"April 1, 1835. This is a day of excitement. At the March town meeting a vote was carried by the town to instruct the select-

men not to approve any innholders for licences to retail ardent spirits. This comes of the temperance reform, and is now the subject of deep interest. The town is divided into three parties, viz., the rigid advocates of temperance, the friends of retailers, and the neutrals, who will not belong to either party. Our innholders find themselves closely pressed by the vote of the town and have had a caucus, at which they determined that they would not take out any licences for any purpose, but would take down their signs and close their houses on the 1st of April. Accordingly, this morning, the signs to all the taverns, except the Temperance House, nine in number, were taken down and the houses all shut against travellers. I saw several ladies sitting in the portico of one of the houses, who had arrived in a stage; there were many gentlemen in the same plight—but none of them were permitted to enter the house. A table was set in the portico, with several decanters filled with cold water set upon it, which I took to be an emblem of temperance. The travellers looked cross, and the dear ladies in particular. The public sympathy was such as to justify the tavern keepers, and this enraged the temperance party.

“April 6. The town is now more full of excitement than has been known since 1812. There is a strong disposition to bring temperance into polities. . . . Every body is getting mad, and what is the cause of especial madness with me is that I am already as mad as the *maddest*.

“July 6, 1835. This day was appointed for the stockholders of the Boston & Worcester Rail Road to visit Worcester and partake of a public dinner provided by the citizens of the place. . . . But what was a matter of great surprise was that some of the ultra temperance men insisted that the entertainment should be wholly without any kind of ardent spirit and wine! Only think of a public dinner without wine! Yet this objection to wine was urged by so large a number that at first it was feared it would upset the whole affair.”

The Washingtonian temperance movement originated in the year 1840, in a saloon in Baltimore, with five drinking men who, disgusted with the conditions of their lives, slaves to the drink habit, resolved, and pledged to one another, that they would break off wholly from the use of intoxicants, and work for the emancipation of others from the evil. They formed themselves into a “tee-total”

society, with a pledge of total abstinence, calling themselves "The Washington Total Abstinence Society."

From their little meetings, held at first in a carpenter's shop, the movement spread with phenomenal rapidity, a veritable conflagration. Two of the original members of the society, Hawkins and Wright, became forceful and popular speakers. In 1841 these men were invited to come to New England, and as they came they held great meetings and organized Washingtonian societies all along the route. Their reception in Worcester was most enthusiastic, and the movement took at once strong hold upon the community. The Washington Temperance Society of Worcester was organized May 1, 1841, holding their meetings at first in the south division of the upper Town Hall, which, however, they soon outgrew, and, upon the enlargement of the Town Hall to double its former dimensions, they occupied first the larger hall on the lower floor, and then the still larger one on the upper floor. Here their weekly meetings, with entertainments of speeches, song, etc., became the popular resort, and were usually crowded to overflowing. In December of the same year the society had nearly 800 male members, regular weekly meetings in the Town Hall, and occasional district meetings in the school districts of Worcester, and a reading room at No. 7 Central Exchange, furnished with nearly all the temperance publications of the Union (and no others). At this time a movement was started for a ladies' auxiliary within the society, and soon the "Ladies' Sewing and Social Circle" was formed, and proved a most valuable aid.

The contacts of Worcester with the prominent leaders in this movement were peculiarly fortunate. Of our citizens were both its supreme orator, John B. Gough, and the man who made him a temperance orator, by showing him kindness in his lowest estate, and getting him to sign the pledge and join the Washingtonians, Mr. Joel Stratton, at that time a waiter in the temperance hotel. Mr. Gough's first temperance speech was made at a Washingtonian meeting in the old Town Hall. Also a Worcester citizen was Mr. Jesse W. Goodrich, who proved a real genius as an organizer and editor of temperance publications, as well as a popular speaker, of whom more anon.

It has been said, with much of truth, that all history is biography—and of biography, the most interesting and convincing is

autobiography, especially when spontaneous and incidental. So profound a movement as the one under consideration must inevitably have left in the community numerous deposits, illuminating records of itself, in which we may read much of its history, as we do that of the earth in the rocks. And so, in this slight study of Worcester's contacts with the Washingtonian movement, I would chiefly invite your attention to some of these deposits, still abundant in our midst. Indeed, so far as this paper may have any significance, it will be as a contribution to a bibliography of such autobiographical material available in our city.

Perhaps foremost among the strata presenting themselves for our examination are the newspapers and other periodical or occasional publications—especially those either originating in the movement or largely given over to its advocacy, the mere fact of whose existence bears eloquent testimony to the extent and force of the movement. And with these may be included biographies, memoirs and records of the active participants.

Then there are societies and other organizations or institutions, still existent, or whose records and reminiscences remain, which, in so far as they were occasioned by, or were essentially modified by the movement, are its indisputable memorials.

Lectures, concerts, entertainments, etc., with their deposits, printed and traditional, likewise offer their competent evidence.

And there are a great variety of objects, souvenirs of persons, institutions and events, banners, regalia, portraits and other pictures, each adding some touch toward the rounding out of the whole vivid picture of the staging and the actors in the absorbing drama of the time. Many of these articles are included in the collections of this Society and of other Worcester organizations, and many more are in the homes of Worcester people. A few of those in our own museum will be referred to below in connection with the institutions, etc., which they illustrate.

One of the most interesting and valuable, but rapidly disappearing repositories of the material of which we are in quest, is afforded by living people of our city, with their recollections, records and traditions of noted actors or events.

No investigator of the historical deposits of our city could fail to be impressed by the remarkable group of temperance newspapers which appear in the period covered by our inquiry. A study

merely of their names and genealogical ramifications would be both interesting and informing. Truly a striking deposit, and sufficient in itself to stamp the movement, for Worcester and its vicinity, as one of great importance and interest. That was the day of the water-cure cult, and the names of the temperance papers include about everything in the way of water which is popularly supposed to fall—even to the dewdrop—with reiteration of the generic term Washingtonian.

The names of this local group, as I have encountered them, are as follows:

The Worcester Waterfall and Washingtonian Delegate
The Worcester Waterfall
The Worcester County Cataract
Worcester County Cataract and Massachusetts Washingtonian
Massachusetts Cataract and Worcester County Waterfall
Massachusetts Cataract and Temperance Standard
Cataract, Waterfall, Standard and Dew Drop
Cataract and Waterfall and Massachusetts Washingtonian
Temperance Agitator and Massachusetts Cataract

Of course these names point to various consolidations of papers originally started in Worcester or elsewhere in this part of the state, and they also point unmistakably to a single mind dominating the whole field, which was that of Mr. Jesse W. Goodrich, lawyer, and the most exuberant, picturesque and original of the temperance editors of the large vicinage centering in Worcester.

Mr. Wall, in his "Reminiscences," says: "The Worcester Waterfall and Washingtonian Delegate was started at the beginning of the Washingtonian movement, Feb. 26, 1842, by Jesse W. Goodrich as editor. In 1843 Mr. Goodrich's connection with it ceased, and the Waterfall was continued by the same publishers. Then on March 31st appeared the first number of a new and spicy temperance paper, entitled *Worcester County Cataract and Massachusetts Washingtonian*, devoted to total abstinence, the useful arts, morals, domestic economy and general intelligence, in aid of the Washingtonian Temperance Society of Worcester, all the Washingtonian Temperance Societies of the county of Worcester, the Massachusetts Washingtonian Total Abstinence Society, and in cooperation with all the Washingtonian and teetotal societies and

presses in the Commonwealth, the country and the world." And he adds, rather needlessly, that the paper was started by Mr. Goodrich. If time would permit me to read you a single sentence from a little autobiographical work of his, and one from a circular submitted by him to the Washington Temperance Society of Worcester, there would be no room for doubt in your minds as to the identity of the writer of them with the author of the titles and headings of these papers—but one of the sentences runs to about 700 words, and the other to 600, with numerous picturesque home-made compounds, and italics in profusion.

Another temperance paper, the *Reformer*, afterwards the *Sentinel and Reformer*, was, with a few other minor publications, merged for a short time in the *Omnium Gatherum*. I should consider it a safe guess that Mr. Goodrich did not name this combination, else it would have displayed the scalps of all the constituents.

The forms of water and instruments of its administration, employed in the temperance symbolism of that day were by no means exhausted in the naming of the newspapers. There were fountains aplenty, cascades, streams, fire-engines, and I have half a mind to add, on the evidence of a sheet of music which I have discovered, mill-ponds. This remarkable sheet displays a huge dome-shaped fountain in profuse flow, with little angels flying and swimming all through and about it, or plunging from it down upon a large crystal sphere—perhaps a congealed dew drop, with the labels "Temperance" and "Sobriety," which appears to be rolling upon and about to overwhelm a terrified and scampering crew of demons of rum. The composition is a Temperance Quickstep, dedicated to the Washington Total Abstinence Society, as performed by the *Mill-Dam Vulcan Band*.

There is hanging in the museum of this Society a very interesting and somewhat singular banner, in view of its historical significance, as it represents at once a society of teetotalers and a fire engine company of the olden days. But a few years before Mr. C. C. Baldwin had ejaculated disgustedly, "Only think of a public dinner without wine," and here was a crew of red-shirted boys who "ran with the machine," all teetotalers. Just think of it! This banner bears on one side, as its main emblem, the design of a fire-engine, with the superscription, "We quench the fires of

intemperance with the engine of total abstinence." In the background is a village street with a flowing fountain, a building on fire, and a company of the boys with their machine coming to the rescue. The other side shows a larger fountain and ornamental design. Reverend Albert Tyler, in an article in the "Proceedings of this Society," under date of April 6, 1897, relates the circumstances of the presentation of the banner, with some details of the history of the unique engine company to which it was given, and I will quote freely from his narrative.

"Of course you must know that temperance was in the air—its influence pervaded everywhere, and its power was felt in every department of official and social life. It had worked its way into the Fire Department of the town, where refreshments of an intoxicating character had been common after fire service and at business meetings. There were converts to the new order of things among the firemen, and these did not relish the conviviality which the majority continued. The natural result was that a new company was organized, the nucleus of which was of old firemen who had taken the pledge, and the Washingtonian Engine Company became a fact in the temperance reformation in the town of Worcester. George W. Wheeler and thirty-nine others were approbated as members of the Fire Department, subjecting themselves to the same rules and regulations of other members of the Fire Department, providing that they will run their own risk of obtaining remuneration for their services from the town. An old and out-of-date engine, of the 'tub' kind, built in the town by H. W. Miller & Co., when the department was first formed, was given them, and with it they did what they could of fire service, until they were able to buy one for themselves. [They soon afterwards purchased a fine new engine, known as Engine No. 5, at a cost of \$800.00.] The first year of service the company did not get any pay from the town; the second year they were paid five dollars per man, and this money and the pay of succeeding years were devoted to paying for the engine.

"Within the Washingtonian Society there was formed a Ladies' Sewing and Social Circle, which was noted for its appreciative works, and among them was the procuring and presentation of this banner to the company. It was painted by Francis Wood, an artist of celebrity in his day. The presentation was made at a

meeting of the Washingtonian Society in the lower Town Hall. The company marched in their new uniform of red shirts, white pants and broad hats, a specimen of the last of which, and the one worn by the foreman on the occasion, accompanies the banner. [And it now surmounts the staff of the banner in the museum.] The presentation speech was made by Mrs. D. J. Rawson, president of the Ladies' Society, and was replied to by Mr. Blake, who afterwards became honorable, as before stated. This was in 1844, and Gerry Valentine was foreman, who is, at the age of 86, the only surviving member of the company, and the custodian and donor of these relics. The company was the favorite of the great Washingtonian Society, which had moved into the upper Town Hall, that covered the whole floor of the building above, and which every Monday evening was crowded with the *élite* of the town. It was usually its guest at its social gatherings, such as fairs and levees, and did escort duty in the parade at its Fourth of July celebrations.

"Finally the teetotalers were ousted from the Fire Department by a clever ruse of the rum forces in it. While the engine belonged to the company the thing could not very well be done, and so the engineers recommended that the town purchase the engine. The boys fell into the trap, sold to the town, and when the spring organization of 1846 took place, they found another company organized and in possession of their machine, and they left out in the cold."

I do not know how long the Washington Temperance Society retained its identity, nor if any others of the temperance societies of Worcester owed their origin directly to this movement, except the "Very Reverend Father Mathew Mutual Benefit Total Abstinence Society," which was organized here November 4, 1849, following a visit of Father Mathew to the city in the previous month, on the invitation of the Mayor and other prominent citizens, and which is still a going institution.

Of the temperance hotels in Worcester during this period, the only ones of which I have been able to find certain data are Thomas's Temperance Exchange (the old Exchange Hotel), corner of Main and Market Sts., and the American Temperance House, at Main and Foster Sts. The old Exchange Hotel, under Captain Thomas, was called "Thomas's Exchange Coffee House," and

later, "Thomas's Temperance Exchange." The American House, started in 1835, soon became the "American Temperance House." While I am unable to ascertain the exact date of the change of name in either of these cases, they must have pretty nearly coincided with the general movement under consideration, and both hostelries, as temperance houses, may claim to be landmarks in it. The old "Eagle Hotel," corner of Main and Thomas Sts., was at one time called the "Worcester Temperance House," but I cannot say at just what date.

A stray concert program and a sheet of music put me in mind of one of the helpful forces in the Washingtonian movement, with which Worcester had considerable contact, with more or less surviving relics—the singing of the "Hutchinson Family." Of this family and their services in the moral crusades of the time, William Lloyd Garrison says, in a letter to Joshua Hutchinson, under date of April 3, 1874:

"Sixteen children of the same parents constitute an exceptionally large number, especially in these less fruitful times; and on this ground alone the case is a notable one. But that they all should have been endowed with a decided musical talent, in some instances amounting to inspirational genius, is indeed extraordinary and probably unparalleled. The most widely known to the public, by their singing in concert as a quartette, are Judson, John, Asa, and Abby, occasionally assisted by Jesse, the gifted *improvvisor*—comprehensively bearing the title of 'The Hutchinson Family.' It shall ever redound to their credit that, at a most trying and convulsive period, they gave themselves to that cause (anti-slavery) with a zeal, an enthusiasm, an unselfishness, and a sympathetic and enrapturing melody surpassing all power of prosaic speech, which most effectively contributed to the regeneration of a corrupt public sentiment, and ultimately to the total abolition of slavery. . . . But they sang not only for freedom and equal rights, but with equal zeal in behalf of peace, temperance, moral reform, woman's enfranchisement, and other kindred movements, making thousands of converts, and exerting a most salutary influence far and wide. Never before has the singing of ballads been made directly and purposely subservient to the freedom, welfare and moral elevation of the people."

The names of thirteen of this "old-time Yankee family" are given in their "Family Song":

‘‘David, Noah, Andrew, Zephy,
Caleb, Joshua, Jess and Benny,
Judson, Rhoda, John and Asa,
And Abby are our names.
We’re the sons of Mary,
Of the Tribe of Jesse,
And we now address you
With our native mountain song.’’

After his visit to Worcester, Hawkins went to Boston and inaugurated the Washingtonian movement there, and the Hutchinsons at once allied themselves with the temperance cause, took the pledge, and on all public occasions sang,

‘‘We are all Washingtonians,
And have all signed the pledge.
We are all teetotalers,
And determined to *keep* the pledge.’’

In the old Deacon Giles Distillery, of Salem, at a grand temperance rally, they first sang the trio composed by Brother Jesse, which became immensely popular, called “King Alcohol,” a copy of which has been treasured in our family for many years. The words, in this edition, are as follows:

“King Alcohol has many forms
By which he catches men.
He is a beast of many horns
And ever thus has been.

“For there’s rum, and wine, and gin, and beer,
And brandy of logwood hue,
And hock, and port, and flip combine
To make a man look blue.

“King Alcohol is very sly,
A liar from the first.
He’ll make you drink until you’re dry,
Then drink because you thirst.

“For there’s rum, etc.

“King Alcohol has had his day,
His kingdom’s crumbling fast.
His votaries are heard to say,
Our tumbling days are past.

“For there’s no rum, nor gin, nor beer, nor wine,
Nor brandy of any hue,
Nor hock, nor port, nor flip combined
To make a man get blue.
And now they’re merry without their sherry,
Or Tom and Jerry, champagne and perry
Or spirits of every hue.
And now they are a temperate crew
As ever a mortal knew.

“The shouts of Washingtonians
Are heard on every gale.
They’re chanting now the victory
O’er cider, beer and ale.

“For there’s no rum,” etc.—closing with,
“And now they are a temperate crew
And have given the devil his due.”

The family, in various combinations, gave a great number of concerts, both in this country and in Europe. I find reference to several of their appearances in Worcester. On October 29, 1844, “an overflowing audience” greeted them, and about December 1 of the same year, they registered another triumph in our city, having an audience twice the size of that which Ole Bull had obtained on the previous evening, though that had been considered a good one.

As has been suggested above, one of the most interesting and valuable of the direct sources of history of this movement is in the family records and traditions of people now living in Worcester who were closely connected with actual participators in the drama. With the extent and richness of this material, however, many of you are much more conversant than I, and I can scarcely do more than bespeak your diligent exploration of it.

Until his death in January of this year, Mr. Herbert Gough, a half-brother of John B. Gough, was still among us, and he leaves a daughter, Mrs. Walter B. Allen, residing on Winsor Street, Worcester.

And this secondary contact of Worcester with the *dramatis personae* of the movement is not confined to the legatees of those whose field of activities was here at that time, but may include the descendants of those who, though their labors were in other localities, have since become identified with our community, either in person or through members of their families who are now the repositories of the family traditions and relics. I will mention but two typical instances, which happen to fall within my knowledge, and in which the contact extends to present membership in this Society.

Notable among the sturdy contestants of that era were the Burleigh Brothers, of Plainfield, Connecticut. There were six of them, several of whom were very active, especially in the temperance and anti-slavery causes. When, as a boy, my home was for a time in Plainfield, the Burleighs were outstanding in social, educational and reformatory circles. The awesome and picturesque figure of one of them, Charles C., as impressed on my childish mind, has persisted through all these years—with his imposing countenance, long curly locks, and shawl worn instead of a great coat. Another was referred to by his admirers as “poet and philanthropist,” but by the editor of the *Advertiser*, who was not in sympathy with his public activities, as “the everlasting great Wm. H. Burleigh, the verse maker, the schoolmaster.”

The son of one of these brothers, Mr. Charles H. Burleigh, solicitor of patents, has been a citizen of Worcester since 1866, and is now a member of this Society.

Another New England family, typical of the men whose rock-ribbed character and indomitable will and persistence made that heroic era in our history, is that of the Cheevers. Worcester’s contact with the family began early, through the marriage of Nathaniel Cheever, of Salem, Massachusetts, with Elizabeth Bancroft, sister of Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft of Worcester.

Dr. George Barrell Cheever, noted preacher, lecturer and writer in the anti-slavery and other moral causes, perhaps most widely known during his residence in New York City, was heard occasionally in Worcester. He is the man who, in the earlier years of his

ministry, put the Deacon Giles Distillery, of Salem, on the map, through the publication of his "immortal allegory" entitled "Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery." On account of this publication he was the recipient of some rather marked attentions from the gentle people of Salem. A mob destroyed the press which printed it; the foreman of the distillery brutally assaulted him; he was tried and convicted of "a libelous dream," and sentenced to a fine of \$1000, and a month's confinement in the common jail. However, his was the triumph in the end, as the distillery was put out of business, and the building converted into a temperance hall, in which capacity it was the theater of many notable temperance rallies.

Dr. Henry T. Cheever, brother of the above, possessed much of the family characteristics, and during his pastorates, in New York City and elsewhere, was ever in the thick of the fray. While living in Connecticut his activities were rewarded in the usual manner, in one instance his house being set on fire. He removed his family to Worcester in 1862, where he died in 1897, and where his daughters, Mrs. Leonard Wheeler and Mrs. George I. Rockwood, continue to reside.

A humorous illustration of the intense earnestness and tenacity of these brothers, in their convictions, is afforded in an incident connected with a visit of Dr. Henry to Dr. George, at his then home in Englewood, N. J. As the visitor was about to depart he lost three consecutive trains through the absorption of them both in a heated argument on the inspiration of the Scriptures.

THE HIGHLAND MILITARY ACADEMY

Paper read before the Worcester Historical Society by
Robert K. Shaw, November 17, 1927

In view of the admirable though anonymous article contributed to the Worcester Magazine of September, 1902, the only excuse for this present paper is the fact that in 1912 the old Academy was closed; the property sold for house lots, and now the street-names Metcalf and Academy Streets, and Military Road, a cottage-house moved to the adjoining Herbert Hall, a few cobblestones in Mr. Frank Waite's sidewalk, and a few trees on Miss Louise Wyman's estate are all that remain visible, today, of the *Alma Mater* of Lieutenant Willie Grout, Major E. T. Raymond and Frederick Remington.

Of the life of the Academy my father used to say that it was founded in 1856 and lasted fifty-six years. In June 1912 when the last bugle-call had echoed over towards the Bancroft tower, its material equipment comprised the following: (1) The Academy Building, erected in 1861, containing the general school room, including study and recitation rooms, laboratories, etc., with armory and dance hall on the floor above, and a modest gymnasium, formerly sleeping rooms, under the roof; (2) the "New Building" so called, dating from 1874, a three-story dormitory, including a small assembly room on the first floor, and a teacher's room on each story; (3) the old buildings, comprising a devious labyrinth of makeshift, patched-up quarters, used for mess-hall, kitchen, laundry, hospital, office, headmaster's rooms and sleeping-rooms for the younger cadets. As an indication of the unconventional though thoroughly comfortable conditions which used to obtain in those ancient days of the late eighties and nineties, I recall once, in the summer vacation, while our family was at luncheon, a new Swedish girl bursting excitedly into the dining room, exclaiming "Oh Mees. Shaw, dere is one beeg shnake in de bat-room," and, sure enough, an innocent little green snake, a couple of feet long, had somehow wriggled through a screen door, left ajar, and by a remarkable feat of acrobatic sinuosity, had managed to slide up-stairs into the family bathroom, where we found him ambitiously awaiting more worlds to conquer!

In addition to this closely related group, practically adjacent, should be mentioned the old riding hall, an immense, barn-like structure, 150 x 100 feet, built in 1868 for cavalry maneuvers in wet weather, but not very successful, I presume, and removed before 1887. Mr. Metcalf, in his catalogs, speaks of it as "on the premises" but it stood about on the site of Mr. Edward A. Bigelow's house on Otsego Road. The farmer's house, barn for horses, cows and chickens; tool-house and sheds, were also adjacent at the southeast, where the ground sloped very abruptly in a manner that would not be suspected today.

As a strictly chronological plan of treatment seems to me undesirable for a modest little essay like the present, I have chosen to group my material around four men who gave the best of their lives to the old Academy: Caleb B. Metcalf, the founder, Joseph A. Shaw, the conservator, George L. Clark, business manager, and Selwyn B. Clark, commandant.

Caleb Buffum Metcalf, son of Enoch (the eleventh child of Peletiah) and Elizabeth (Buffum) was born in that delightful northern hill town of Worcester County, Royalston, February 13, 1814. The oldest of five children, he studied at Phillips Andover Academy under Samuel Taylor, and graduated from Yale in 1842, at the ripe age of 28. On August 18, 1843, he married Roxanna C. Barnes, sister of Alfred S. Barnes, well-known New York publisher. Their children were Alfred Barnes, who died in infancy, August 19, 1850, aged three, and Anna Wilson, born October 8, 1849, and still living (to the best of my knowledge) in Rome. The first of Anna's matrimonial ventures was an elopement about 1866 with a Highland Cadet named Potter, from New Bedford. Not long after his early death she married a much older man named Cook, from Lowell, and finally, on June 4, 1879, Percy McElrath of New York City, for many years our consul at Turin, Italy.

Mr. Metcalf, for the first two winters after graduation, taught music in Pennsylvania, pursuing advanced study also in New Haven. Music resided in this Metcalf family, as his brother Isaac taught this art at the H. M. A. from 1862 to 1884, inclusive, and was also choir-master for many years of All Saints Church, while James A. Metcalf, Isaac's son, who died about fifteen years ago, was a very well-known church and concert singer of New York City.

After teaching for two years in the Boston city schools, Mr. Metcalf came to Worcester as principal of the Thomas Street

Grammar School, beginning April 16, 1846. For the teacher's profession he had a natural inclination, together with an hereditary tendency, as an ancestor, Michael, was reputed the first pedagog of the ancient town of Dedham. Of his prowess at Thomas Street tales are still whispered around town by a few octogenarian gossips, general agreement being reached that his rule (or ruler) though far from mild, was just, and that he turned many a stubborn lad back into the path of perhaps unconscious rectitude. At any rate, three specific matters of record point to a decade of distinct success: about 1856, when he embarked on his great adventure, he declined the principalship of the local high school and the mastership of the Endicott school in Boston, and came within one vote of being elected the first superintendent of the local public schools.

But his mind was already fixed on a school of his own. As early as 1852, according to our city directory, he had moved out to the future Academy premises, on Salisbury street, and by 1856 probably owned the ten acres of school property in that rural district. Mr. Metcalf was a born trader in real estate. He began buying land almost as soon as he reached Worcester, and between 1847 and 1887 caused no fewer than 67 transactions, as *grantee*, to be recorded at the registry of deeds, not to mention what he sold. Whatever may have been the real-estate tenure, it was on October 7, 1856, that the great disciplinarian opened his academy, rather explosively, with a list of 43 names in an institution limited to fifteen day pupils and as many boarders. That the educational turnover was considerable at first, is the inference that we have to draw from these rather conflicting figures.

Quoting from the third annual catalog, July 16, 1859, we learn that "Military exercise has been introduced as a means of affording amusement, promoting health and improving the figure and personal carriage." At this stage the modest proprietor probably little dreamed that in that simple paragraph he had unlocked a treasure-chest. For this third year the enrolment numbered 40. With the lowering of the national flag on Fort Sumter, a tremendous impetus, of course, was given to the military idea, from Maine to California, and Mr. Metcalf's new boys' school, with its recent introduction of military drill, profited enormously. In 1860 the roster shows 48 names, and in the five years of conflict, the following: 70, 101, 145, 130, and 119, with 101 again in 1866. Where

the principal ever sardined away those youngsters is marvelous, as in 1863, the year of highest enrolment (145) only 23 names are recorded from Worcester. In my day, the middle nineties, the quota of 55 filled mess-hall and dormitories comfortably, and you will recall that the "New Building" housing about 40 cadets, was not built until 1874.

As for the record made by Highland Cadets in the Civil War, I cannot do better than quote from the luminous article in the fourth volume of the Worcester Magazine already mentioned:

"Both the Bacons, Will and Frank, went down in the rush of battle; Green, Grout and Hacker all tasted death amid the clash of arms; Jameson met his fate in trying to act the spy in Richmond. Darius Starr and George W. Wellington suffered and died amidst the horrors of Andersonville. It is said that Henry M. Bragg (recorded in the first catalog with the two Bacons) was the soldier to whom was assigned the honor of raising the flag over Fort Sumter, in April, 1865, and Worcester people have long been familiar with the names and figures of Sheriff R. H. Chamberlain, Major E. T. Raymond, Capt. Charles H. Pinkham, William H. Hobbs and Capt. Levi Lincoln. The highest rank attained was that of Brevet Brig. Gen. William N. Green, who lost his life as Lt. Col. of 173d N. Y. infantry. Capt. George E. Barton survived the war a number of years. Henry H. Wilson was son of the late Vice-President, but of whatever birth or rank, these soldiers were the better for the drill and knowledge secured here."

Regarding the remarkable growth of the Academy in its first decade, there can be no doubt of this general proposition, and it was freely stated by pretty good authority that for more than a decade the proprietor was clearing a net annual profit of \$15,000, or better. Some bad investments in Minnesota real estate robbed him of the best part of his earnings, and left him to die comparatively a poor man. However that may be, the fact remains that during its first decade the Academy took a great boom, the effects of which lasted pretty well through another ten-year period. From 1867-1876 these catalog figures run from 97 in 1867 and 109 in 1875, down to 72 in 1872, a general financial depression at this latter period probably acting as auxiliary.

Toward the close of this period occurred the famous gas explosion, which came near blowing the proprietor and three or four

companions into eternity. In the middle of the parade ground was situated a great underground gas tank, which supplied the school building locally with illuminating gas. To remedy some defect Mr. Metcalf, with two or three companions foolishly entered the tank room with a lighted lantern, and an efficient explosion followed promptly. The principal's wig was reputed to have been blown as far as the retaining walls permitted, and although I cannot vouch for that part of the story, I do remember distinctly, as a very small boy, calling on a neighbor who had accompanied the investigator on his literal "Descensus Averno," and whom I found moaning in his rocker, his face abundantly swathed in grease.

The way to get really famous is to appear in print, and the H. M. A. through its exhibition drills in many cities, and over a considerable period of years, won much applause, and abundant publicity. Tipped into our library's set of H. M. A. catalogs is a four-page folder of quarto size, entitled "Military History of the Highland Cadets" and issued probably in 1871. It comprises nineteen extracts from various newspapers including *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Springfield Republican*, *Providence Journal*, etc., describing exhibition drills given by the cadets in several New England cities and even beyond. A prefatory paragraph reads as follows: "The first public drill of the Highland Cadets, commanded by Capt. William B. Bacon, was in the summer of 1859 on the Worcester Common, when they were reviewed by the Mayor, Alexander H. Bullock, and fêted by His Honor at his mansion. Every year since, they have given exhibitions of their proficiency in military exercises in other cities. They have drilled several times on "Boston Common," and in the "Boston Theater" and once each in Lowell, Salem, Gloucester, Springfield, Newport, Providence, New York and Brooklyn, Portland, Bangor, Concord, and Manchester."

From all these civilian accounts I quote only a sentence in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, "This is the finest military display ever seen in this city, not excepting Ellsworth and his Chicago Zouaves" and pass on to an expert's comment in the Army and Navy Journal for June 15, 1867: "In point of endurance the cadets are certainly equal to most companies of men. It was very evident, from the manner in which the cadets drilled that they had been carefully

instructed. . . . The loadings and firings they also did so remarkably well that we wished the second company of the 7th Regiment had been present also. We think that the decision [between them] would have been a hard one to arrive at . . . ”

The question of the financing of these admirable advertisers (from general tuition expenses) brings up the matter of cost of living at the old Academy. Two hundred fifty dollars per annum for board and tuition is the figure first quoted by Mr. Metcalf, not including uniform or the study of foreign languages. By 1862 this modest amount had increased only to \$290, but soon jumped to \$350 by the end of the war, and up to \$410 the next year, on which dizzy pinnacle it stuck for several years, registering a maximum of \$430 for junior and \$450 for senior cadets, in 1871. The real climax came four years later, with a flat rate of \$450 for everybody. The financial panic of fifty years ago found plenty of echoes in Worcester, as I observed once that in 1879 everybody on the library staff had to accept a salary cut, and now it appears that in 1878 Mr. Metcalf reduced his tuition rates to \$350 where they remained for twenty-one years. Twenty-five dollars was added in 1899 and another \$25 in 1906, so that the school closed with an even \$400.

As a disciplinarian the founder was sometimes harsh and severe, but a great success. From the day at Thomas Street when he was reputed to have jumped half-way down a stairway after an unruly boy, he was always in his element on such occasions, and never known to quail before a refractory case. “Confound him, I’ll break him” he is said to have replied to an anxious parent, fearful lest his son should go on the rampage. This reputation for taking and breaking tough characters which Mr. Metcalf welcomed, at least to a degree, proved a certain embarrassment to the later management. His notes on discipline, preserved sometimes as fragmentary memoranda, are unique and cogent, like the following:

“No teacher should make a ‘butt’ of a cadet, nor allow cadets to do so, specially if that cadet is not considered quite so bright as some others. The proprietor cannot afford to lose patronage by such a case.”

The Academy discipline comprised: demerits, room-arrest, corporal punishment, and solitary confinement. The first were assessed for petty offenses, such as tardiness, inattention, failure in recita-

tion, leaving the premises without permission, etc. From ten to forty minutes was assigned for each offense, and the time was "served out" by sitting at attention, with arms folded, during free time. This form of punishment may be justly criticized from many angles: it deprived cadets of exercise and even sleep (as demerit sessions would sometimes be dragged out until midnight); it required constant, tactful and efficient supervision on the part of the teacher in charge; and it led to discouragement, as nervous and stubborn boys would sometimes be deeper in the hole after a two-hour demerit session, from having misbehaved while "serving demerits" so that the officer in charge was obliged to add to their original demerit period. A better system, though not above criticism, I met at another boarding school, where sums in multiplication were required to be done correctly by delinquents.

"Room-Arrest" of course implied confinement to a cadet's quarters when not engaged in actual school duties, with the added Trappist prohibition of SILENCE, making it an offense not only to speak to your fellow cadets, but to be spoken to. A list of demerits for twenty-four hours was always read aloud at assembly, after morning devotions, including names of cadets under room-arrest (rarely more than two or three at a time) so that the whole cadet corps received warning not to speak to anybody suffering such disability, under pain of receiving demerits yourself.

On Saturday noons before dinner, the weekly demerit list was read: first the Roll of Honor, comprising the names (perhaps eight or ten out of fifty) of those who had escaped punishment of any sort during the week, and who were therefore entitled to a pass to visit the city between two and five-thirty Saturday afternoon; next the "First Delinquents" having ten demerits or fewer, and also entitled to "town leave"; lastly the "Second Delinquents" whose eleven or more demerits obliged their owners to stay on bounds all the afternoon, getting what fun they could from the familiar sports or taking a chance on breaking bounds to enjoy a package of cigarettes or make good on a date fixed with some girl during the week!

Of corporal punishment I will say simply that in my time it could be administered only by the Commandant, who was the official spanker, and always did his work "more in sorrow than in anger" having admirable control of his own temper. To the oppo-

nents of this system I merely offer my own impartial testimony (as I hope it is) that in repeated instances, among the younger cadets, it worked wonders, and that for several days after being spanked these little imps would display a docility, a sweetness of temper and a general attention to business quite out of keeping with their usual deportment.

The meting out of solitary confinement was regulated by the Commandant and Headmaster, and was wholly outside the sphere of any of us underling sub-masters. Its results were usually similar to those of corporal punishment, and considering its severity and all possibilities involved, I believe that the authorities were fortunate never to have been obliged (in my knowledge) to defend a lawsuit, nor to have ever caused permanent injury to a delinquent.

Tobacco and strong liquor were, of course, always tabooed at the Academy, cadets being required to sign a pledge promising to abstain from their use. The relation between these two bowers of His Satanic Majesty may be noted by an excerpt from the paragraph MORALS in the catalog of 1869: "Except in the article of tobacco this pledge may not be binding when the parent presents to his son, at home, wine or other spirituous drink, *as a tonic!*"

As time went on, Mr. Metcalf found his administrative duties more pressing, and less time available for teaching. In fact for many years toward the end of his incumbency, he probably did not teach at all. In 1871 Joseph A. Shaw, after four years as teacher, received the title of principal, and in 1888 Mr. Metcalf, a lame but vigorous old man of 74, severed all relations but financial with the Academy; took an apartment on Lincoln Street, and on July 31, 1891, died at his daughter's summer home on the New Jersey coast. On the fourth of August his funeral was held in Central Church and he was buried in Rural Cemetery beside his wife who had preceded him by a year to their last resting place.

This story I said would center around four men, but since it is probably long enough already, I shall be brief with the last three. In 1867 my father first came to the H. M. A. from the old New Salem Academy, after Mr. Metcalf had passed the very zenith of his prosperity. About 1878 or 1879, in the general financial distress of that period, his salary was cut from \$1800 to \$1500, and in the autumn of 1881 we moved to Cincinnati, where my father received a good offer. His latter state, however, was

worse than the first, as the principal died during the school year of 1881-1882, and my father found a deep satisfaction in shaking from his hat the thick coating of Cincinnati soft coal dust, and hurrying back to old New England. Returning to Worcester in 1887, he formed a partnership next year with George L. Clark to lease the Academy after the founder's retirement, a situation which was maintained until the final shut-down in 1912.

While not a lover of discipline in and for itself, like Mr. Metcalf, my father was always successful in this great essential (at least at the H. M. A.) and never did the school discipline break its bounds, as is sometimes the case elsewhere. During this era of the "Conservator" as I call this second and last chapter of school history, the rigors of strictest discipline were somewhat relaxed: football and other sports were cultivated; a dancing teacher gave lessons on the premises; vocal and instrumental music were encouraged, while many dances and musical recitals in the armory, with card parties at the Headmaster's house, prize drills, declamations, and a magazine, the "Highland Cadet" broke the monotony of military routine. Dramatics were never a great feature, but in the early nineties, Mr. Orren H. Smith, teacher of higher English, helped the cadets put on at least four plays in successive mid-winter periods, including "Tony the Convict" a thrilling melodrama of life at Sing Sing, and a play of high adventure called "Soldiers of Fortune."

As a result, perhaps, of this somewhat milder régime, might be quoted a paragraph from a father's letter, dated about 1906, to the Headmaster.

"And with this I wish to thank you with a heart full of gratitude, for the considerate manner in which your Mr. Clark and the faculty guarded our name from public reproach over the indiscretions of my boy. We shall always revere the efforts which you and your coadjutors put forth to make manly men of the pupils entrusted to your care, and whenever opportunity offers for me to speak words of praise in behalf of the Highland Military Academy, I shall do so in part compensation for the debt of gratitude I feel toward you."

With my father's return in 1887, the church-going conditions were changed, St. John's Episcopal Church being the place of worship for all excepting those who made a point of attending

elsewhere. One of the few conflicts between "town and gown" which I recall arose from the custom of marching the cadets two abreast on the sidewalk. This made trouble on the crosswalks, especially on Lincoln Street where civilians would find themselves often rather rudely elbowed off on what Miss Rebecca Jones used to call the "agony stones."

The Academy, when my father and Mr. George L. Clark assumed control in the summer of 1888, was not much of an educational asset. Buildings and equipment were in rather sorry state, and the revised catalog (or register, as my father preferred to call it) showed only 38 names. During the next six years conditions improved considerably and the roster of 1894-1895 increased to 68. This, however, proved to be another high-tide, after which the enrolment decreased to 36 in the last catalog of 1910-1911. The reasons for the old Academy's prosperity I have already explained; its decline was due to the hard times of the late nineties, absentee ownership, unpopularity of the military idea, deterioration of the plant, and rapid rise to popularity of Worcester Academy. After Mr. Metcalf's death, in 1891, the ownership was vested in trustees, the practical owner being the daughter, Mrs. McElrath, who lived chiefly abroad, and, being dependent, at least to a large extent, on her income from the school, felt unable to put money back into the proper upkeep of the establishment. Add to this the necessity of dividing the remaining profit on 36 cadets, between the principal and business-manager, and it takes no accountant to discover a condition which presently became intolerable. The old Academy was worn out and it had to go.

Before closing I think it only just to tuck in this little paragraph on my mother's connection with the Academy. Though her name nowhere appears as matron, and may not be mentioned anywhere in the catalogs, she occupied that position during the last sixteen years of the Academy's existence, accepting the modest stipend which accompanied the title, and in return performed not only a matron's duties, but put in a vast amount of gratuitous overtime, bandaging sore throats, rubbing chests with antiphlogistine, tying up football ankles or baseball knuckles, or nursing sick boys late at night. At this time I am confident that well over one hundred middle-aged professional and business men could be found to testify cheerfully to the value of her devoted and sympathetic services.

George Langdon Clark's career at the school paced my father's very closely. First appearing in 1868, his name is listed annually until 1880, after which it disappears until 1888, during which interval he resided as steward at the Bloomingdale Hospital. As a business partner my father considered him indispensable, and always relied implicitly on his business judgment and probity. His ledger books are beautiful specimens of the penman's art, and probably all my hearers will recall his cordial and dignified personality.

Selwyn Beede Clark, chief military officer or Commandant of cadets from 1885 to the close in 1912, and instructor in English branches for three years preceding, was also a graduate of the old Academy, in the class of 1876. A man of tall and commanding presence and a close student of military history and affairs, he was also a devotee of the fine arts, being a good art critic, a singer and performer on the flute and violin. Like the founder, he had also an unusual flair for problems of discipline, and took the keenest interest in unraveling tangled skeins from that loom. The future historian of the H. M. A. is likewise under greatest obligation to him for the loving care with which he has sorted, classified, annotated, marked, and preserved a notable collection of letters, programs, invitations, and other memorabilia relating to the old Academy. Its gleaming helmets, proudly waving banners, spotless uniforms, and echoing bugle-calls are now only memories of an ever receding epoch; thanks be to our society for its efforts to treasure the memorials of an honored past.

NATHANIEL PAINE

Nathaniel Paine, who was admitted a member of The Worcester Society of Antiquity on the fourth of February 1878, died on the fourteenth of January, 1917. He was born on the sixth of August, 1832, the son of Gardiner and Emily (Baker) Paine, and was eighty-four years and five months of age at the time of his death. All of this long life was passed in the town and city of Worcester, and he was connected for many years with the material and financial, the social and the scientific and literary interests of his native place.

His ancestry was through that Paine line, the progenitor of which came to this country in the middle of the seventeenth century, and during the Revolution the family was attached to the Royal Cause. His great-grandfather, Timothy Paine, readjusted himself to the new order, however, and received favor to the degree that he was a candidate for Congress under the Constitution, and his son, Nathaniel, for whom our subject was named, was for many years the Judge of Probate in this district.

Mr. Paine received his education in the schools of Worcester, and in 1848 began his apprenticeship in the banking business in the Mechanics Bank. In 1854 he was appointed assistant cashier in the new City Bank, an institution with which he was connected during the whole period of its existence, being for many years its cashier, and finally its president, until it was merged with the Worcester Trust Company in 1903. He retired from the banking business in 1909.

In his early years Mr. Paine developed an interest in antiquarian and historical matters, which he pursued to the end of his life. He was an original member of the Lyceum and Natural History Society, and was its president for several years; and he was also a member of several other societies in Worcester. He was for a brief period a member of the Common Council of the city, but politics was not in accordance with his inclinations. Elected to the American Antiquarian Society in 1860, he became its treasurer in 1863, in which office he was continued until his infirmities caused him to relinquish it.

In 1865 Mr. Paine married Miss Susan M. Barnes of New Haven, Connecticut, who survives him. They had no children.

Mr. Paine was interested and active in the affairs of The Worcester Society of Antiquity for a period of twenty years or more, frequently attending its meetings, and contributing several papers to its proceedings, the most important of which were "An Episode of Worcester History," "Random Recollections of Worcester 1839-1843," and a "Memorial of Benson John Lossing." He was a close friend and adviser of the late Honorable Stephen Salisbury, and cooperated with him in arranging the details of his benefaction to this Society, in the gift of our building and in other measures. Mr. Paine was for one year a vice-president, and was a member of several committees from time to time. During the last fifteen years, his increasing infirmities prevented active duties here as in other connections.

In recognition of his service as an antiquarian, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him in 1898, by Harvard University. He was for many years a member of the Church of the Unity, and later attended the First Unitarian Church, where on the morning of the seventeenth of January of this year, his friends gathered to pay the tributes of respect at his funeral. As is the fate of one who had lived to his great age, he had seen the larger number of his relatives and associates pass away before he was called, and in his death was given the release from a long period of physical decline.

FRANKLIN P. RICE

AUSTIN S. GARVER

Austin S. Garver was born in Scotland, Pennsylvania, December 12, 1847, and died in Worcester, June 20, 1918. He studied at the University of Pennsylvania and at Andover Theological Seminary, graduating from the latter institution in 1871. For one year he remained at the Seminary, doing graduate work, and was then, for three years, pastor of the Congregational Church in Hingham, Massachusetts. A pastorate of five years at Union Church, Wakefield, Massachusetts, followed. In 1880 Mr. Garver entered the Unitarian communion, and served as pastor of the Hopedale, Massachusetts, Unitarian Church, resigning in 1885 to become minister at the historic First Unitarian Church of Worcester, the old Second Parish. He was fourth in the series of illustrious men who had occupied this pulpit, and he fully sustained the traditions of the position. He entered upon his pastorate in Worcester, January 22, 1885, the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the parish. He remained as pastor exactly twenty-five years, resigning January 22, 1910. On his resignation he was made Pastor Emeritus, and he held this title at the time of his death. He often filled his former pulpit, and he was constantly sought as preacher by other congregations.

Mr. Garver early showed a profound interest in all that concerned the life and welfare of his adopted city. For thirteen years he served on the School Board of Worcester, for more than twenty he was a valued member of the corporation of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. He was a trustee of Clark University and of Leicester Academy, a director of the Worcester Unitarian Conference, president of the Worcester Art Society, president of the Twentieth Century Club from the time of its organization in 1903 until his death. He was an incorporator of the Worcester Art Museum, later a trustee, and finally president of the trustees, holding this office from 1913 until his death. He was constant and valuable in advising the founder of the Art Museum when the plan was in its early stages, and he never lost interest in the undertaking. Mr. Garver was a member of the Worcester Public Schools Art League, and one of its officers. He was a member of the St. Wulstan Society, of the Bohemian Club, of the American

Antiquarian Society, of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, now the Worcester Historical Society, of the Worcester Fire Society. He had served on numerous city and church organizations for special occasions, and he never failed to manifest in all public undertakings that interest which made him so valuable a citizen, that willingness to serve which brought his untimely death home to men and women in all walks of life.

Mr. Garver made for himself in this city a name and a place of which any man might well be proud. A true friend, a public spirited citizen, a tireless worker in every good cause, a faithful pastor, a kindly Christian gentleman, he was interested in all that looked to the improvement of his city, to the betterment of his fellow men, his state, his nation. His life is an inspiration to broad human sympathy, to generous service, to unstinted labor in every good cause. His death left the city and every citizen poorer, yet rich in the memory of the man, and of what he stood for, and of what he wrought. This memory cannot be taken away. Though he has gone his works shall follow him.

ZELOTES W. COOMBS

RAYMOND BASSETT FLETCHER

Raymond Bassett Fletcher died on the 25th day of May, 1923, at Worcester. His death was caused by being thrown from a carriage in which he was driving, the horse having become unmanageable. His life was ended at the age of thirty-three years, in the full strength of healthy, vigorous, young manhood. His father, Honorable Edward F. Fletcher, and his widow, Annie Harlow Fletcher with two children survive him.

He was born on April 16, 1890. His boyhood was passed in Worcester, the city of his birth, where he attended the public schools, passing through the various grades and graduating from South High School. After high school he entered Dartmouth College, remaining there as a student for two years. He then entered Boston University Law School where he was graduated in 1915 with the degree of Bachelor of Laws, Cum Laude. His admission to the Bar of Worcester County soon followed, and he practiced his profession in this city until his death. His residence at his death and for a few years previous was in the town of Shrewsbury.

He was a man of unusual physical strength and vitality and was possessed of a quick, keen mind. There was added to this equipment a high character, so that to him might well be applied the words of the familiar Latin hymn "*Integer Vitae Sclerisque Purus.*"

The combination of these qualities of body and mind resulted in marked accomplishments in spite of the few years of his activity. He realized to the fullest extent his duties to his fellow men, and literally threw himself into their complete fulfillment. The church, social and political organizations—those agencies so ready for all but so often ignored, were used by him in the practical efforts to achieve his ideals. Temporary movements for the welfare of humanity always received his hearty and complete support. His patriotic obligations as a citizen were among the first to be recognized and fulfilled. In all good works his influence and accomplishments were far reaching, quite as much by his splendid and unselfish enthusiasm as by his devoted efforts.

In the practice of his profession he soon became an outstanding

figure. He performed his work with zeal and thoroughness. He quickly acquired the confidence of his professional clients. As a member of the Federal Judicial System his work won the approval of the community and his official associates. He possessed the affection and respect of his brethren at the bar. There was every reason to expect for him a long life of continued usefulness and success. Prematurely cut off, as was the life of Raymond Bassett Fletcher, there yet remains to those with whom he came in contact, the lasting remembrance of his captivating personality; and the wholesome influence of the many and varied expressions of his practical idealism.

EDWIN G. NORMAN

FRANK EMERY WILLIAMSON

A MEMORIAL

Frank Emery Williamson was born in Worcester, December 4, 1854, the son of Milton William and Mary Ann (Marcy) Williamson.

His father was a native of Maine, a direct descendent of Jonathan Williamson, born in London, England, who came to this country in 1734 and settled in Pownalsborough, now Wiscasset, Maine, where he became a leading citizen.

His mother was a member of the Marcy family of Sturbridge, Massachusetts.

Early education was obtained in the public schools of Worcester. At the age of fifteen he was obliged to leave school and entered the employ of the Worcester and Nashua Railroad Company as office boy.

After receiving a taste of railroad life, it was his boyish ambition to become a locomotive engineer, but maternal objection prevented the realization of this dream.

Working upward through various positions, he was made book-keeper in 1878, and for several years afterwards not only filled that office, but was conductor on the old "Shoo-fly," the evening train from Worcester to Nashua, returning from Ayer Junction early the following morning.

When this road was leased to the Boston and Maine Railroad in 1885, he was made cashier of the Worcester office, and for ten years afterwards held that position. In 1895 he resigned to become auditing clerk of the Worcester County Institution for Savings.

In January, 1906, he was elected auditor of the city of Worcester, an office for which he was singularly fitted by previous training and experience and which he held during the remaining fifteen years of his life.

For four years, 1895-98, he served as a member of the Common Council. He was a member (life) of Caleb Butler Lodge, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Ayer, Massachusetts, and of Worcester Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Although not a member, he was a regular attendant and supporter of Central Congregational Church for nearly forty years.

Mr. Williamson married November 15, 1877, Ida May Moore of Worcester, and they had two sons, George Emery, born September 11, 1878, and Arthur Moore, born May 13, 1881. Both boys attended the public schools of Worcester, graduated from the Worcester English High School and later from the Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

Elected to membership in the Worcester Society of Antiquity, now the Worcester Historical Society, in February, 1896, he became Treasurer in December, 1903. This position he held continuously until failing health forced him to submit his resignation for the Annual Meeting in 1921. Before action could be taken, he passed away June 16, 1921.

His final task was the compilation of material for the Annual Treasurer's Report of 1921, a task performed under conditions of intense bodily pain and distress. The report was finally completed by his sons just previous to his death, much to his relief and peace of mind.

This quality of faithfulness to duty was a dominant characteristic of the man. His first thought and endeavor was to serve faithfully the one he was serving, be it the city, an employer, a society, church, or any other organization or individual.

His family life was ideal. Blessed with a life companion whose devotion to home and family knew no bounds, he was a most kind and lovable husband and father. His early ambition was to provide his family with a good home and his sons with a good education. This ambition he realized to a marked degree.

It has been said that the strength of a nation lies in its family and home life. If all our citizens possessed the high ideals of Frank Emery Williamson as regards the home and family, and lived up to those ideals in the way and manner in which he did, our institutions would be safe for all time.

GEORGE E. WILLIAMSON

IDA MAY (MOORE) WILLIAMSON

A MEMORIAL

Ida May (Moore) Williamson was born November 5, 1854, in Worcester, Massachusetts.

Her father was Luther Gale Moore, a well-to-do farmer on the old Colonel George Moore homestead at the Summit in the northern part of the city.

Her mother was Joanna (Wright) Moore, born in Mount Washington, Massachusetts, and later a resident of what is now known as October Mountain in Washington, Massachusetts, both of these towns being located in Berkshire County.

She attended the public schools of Worcester, and later studied music.

On November 15, 1877, she was married to Frank Emery Williamson. Throughout her life she was a resident of Worcester.

Two sons were born of the union, George Emery, born September 11, 1878, and Arthur Moore, born May 13, 1881.

Early in her married life she took a deep interest in the church and in giving aid to the needy. She became a member of Central Congregational Church July 3, 1887, serving it and its organizations in many capacities continuously and unstintingly.

For over thirty-five years she took a great interest in the Baldwinville Hospital Cottages, Baldwinville, Massachusetts, long acting as an officer of the Worcester Branch and serving as president at the time of her death.

The Woman's Auxiliary of the Worcester Young Men's Christian Association long ago appealed to her as an organization worthy of her active support, and for thirty years or more she labored unceasingly that the young manhood of Worcester might receive every benefit which the Y. M. C. A. could give. When she passed away she held the position of treasurer of this organization.

In December, 1898, she became a member of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, now the Worcester Historical Society.

The war, with the untold suffering and misery brought to millions of people, touched her sympathetic nature deeply, and she labored indefatigably in the making of those things which meant so much to the soldiers in the field and to the victims of the awful tragedy.

So continuously and unceasingly did she work, practically without let up, that without question a serious impairment of health resulted, from which she never recovered. She passed away suddenly April 23, 1919.

Kindly and sympathetic by nature, a most devoted wife and mother, her first interests were in the home and in service for others. Few have been privileged to receive the whole-souled love and devotion which characterized life with her husband and sons, as well as with her mother and sister who made their home with her for many years. No task was too difficult, no effort too great, if it would contribute to the family life and happiness.

Just so with her service to others. Time and hard work were given freely and lovingly without thought of self or of health or of reward beyond the joy of giving.

One of the greatest contributions for good a person can make during his or her life is to inspire in others a desire ever to live and walk uprightly and to render genuine whole-hearted service to those who need it. Her life was an inspiration for good, not only to her family but to all with whom she came in contact. The world is better because she lived.

GEORGE E. WILLIAMSON

NOTES AND COMMENTS, ABRIDGED FROM THE LAST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE SOCIETY

The Worcester Historical Society is an active institution, with interesting contacts both local and distant, individual and institutional. No report, however, can even suggest its activities or its lines of interest to those not directly connected with the life that goes on at the Society's building. The number of visitors, about 2000 during the last year, was not large, but noticeably larger than in previous years. Next year, when many may be passing through Worcester on their way to or from Tercentenary observances farther to the eastward, it may seem distinctly our privilege to find some means for keeping open house throughout the summer, perhaps abandoning the practice of allowing the month of August as vacation.

Our guests often express a good degree of satisfaction and much surprise at the importance of what they find in our collections, and it has been suggested that we ought to devise some way to induce people to express their satisfaction in a more substantial manner than merely by pleasant words. But an admission fee of any sort or size, or any form of "poor box" near the entrance has so far not found approval. There is obvious need of greatly increased revenue for a reasonable budget, if the work is to be carried on properly and in keeping with similar organizations in communities of Worcester's class. Present membership fees and income from such limited funds as have come to us are plainly inadequate, but we may take some satisfaction in the fact that we compel ourselves to live within such income as we have, and have neither run into debt nor drawn upon endowments. We are a frugal, thrifty institution, a fact that ought to commend us to those of sound and disposing mind.

Even a casual glance about the Museum must reveal some marked improvements in arrangement, classification, and labeling. This is particularly evident in the large and valuable Indian collection. Eighty-eight items have been added to the Museum list during the year, all accessions showing appreciation of the kind of public service our Society is constituted to render. The large Burleigh case, in which the glass and other collections are displayed, the

portrait of Clarendon Harris in the Worcester Room, the valuable courting mirror as restored by Miss Morse, the Boscowen tea set from Dr. Cook, Miss Southwick's attractive collection of world-curios and the Bliss case in which it is preserved, the growing collection of Rogers Groups from Mr. and Mrs. Chetwood Smith and others, the old Town Hall clock from Rufus B. Dodge, and very many more valuable and significant gifts of the year suggest that some are thinking of what may be the scope of this department of our activities.

Accessions to the Library, one hundred and fifteen in number, are no less significant than those to the Museum. They are too numerous for detailed mention in this report, but are all duly listed and shelved in accordance with Mr. Colegrove's careful system of classification, or, if manuscripts, in Dr. Lincoln's now fully organized department of manuscripts and broadsides. Particular mention should be made, however, of a file of Worcester City Documents from the *Worcester Evening Gazette*, substantially bound, setting free our far poorer set, which has now been passed on to the Library of the Holy Cross College.

As a useful part of our library system, attention is called to the extensive collection of Worcester views, most of them unframed and not displayed on the walls of the different rooms of the building. Some of these views are in the form of lantern slides, of which we have a very large collection, almost entirely representing Worcester, city and county. The main part of our pictures, however, are in the form of early prints and photographs, systematically arranged in cabinets now standing in the main museum room. Some of these have already proved of real service to University students and others.

One recent accession to the Library should have special mention here, the work and gift of Mr. Woodward, our former president and frequent benefactor. This book is a compilation and type-written reproduction of the series of articles prepared by the Society and printed in the *Worcester Evening Gazette* last year, under the general title, "Historic New England Industries." It is fully illustrated by photographic copies of the original views of objects and groups in our museum, and is provided with a detailed index. There is also included a full set of the actual newspaper prints of the articles as they first appeared.

One achievement of the year in connection with the library is Mr. Colegrove's bibliography of the literature relating to the American Indians. This classified list of the great number of articles in Smithsonian reports and in periodicals, in early and recent pamphlets, in special chapters of books, etc., has been built up with great care, and perhaps exists in such complete form nowhere else. It may prove of service—undoubtedly will so prove—in guiding the researches of students who come to us as well as to some in other libraries. This study, which to some extent has grown out of our own experience of practical need, may open the way to other similar helps to studious inquiry along the lines of local history.

As reported a year ago, the special effort of the Society's executives then had been the series of newspaper studies already referred to as having been reproduced in Mr. Woodward's book. For the year recently closed our special attention has been given to an educational programme. The carefully planned course of half-hour talks to high school people, followed by a tour through the rooms of the Museum, proved more practicable for adults than for hard-pressed high-school students. It will perhaps be tried again under different conditions. From the grade schools a good number of history classes came with their teachers for a practical lesson in history at its source. Also several clubs of the city have been interested in holding meetings at the building, and others have asked the Director to present before them at their regular meeting-places the subject of Worcester History in some one of its many aspects. In one instance he thus represented the Society in one of the County towns. These opportunities help to make the Society and the purpose and work for which it stands better known, and ought in the end to strengthen it as a public service institution. During the year the Director has had occasion in this way to represent the Society in formal or informal address, at the building or outside, eighteen different times, six of them being at meetings of adult organizations. On the whole the plan for an educational programme has worked out very well so far.

The series of eight monthly meetings of the Society itself has been a worthy part of the year's achievements. Each programme has brought forward two different speakers, either for the biographical sketch of some deceased member or for the more formal

paper, and in every case the work has been done with marked effectiveness. If funds allowed, it would doubtless be easy to secure for these meetings speakers of wide renown from beyond the limits of Worcester; but it has been far more worth while to furnish incentive and opportunity for self-expression among ourselves, and undoubtedly the results are quite as good. The executives of the Society are prepared to offer suggestions to members who are in position to make original and special studies upon local topics of real importance.

In many inconspicuous but very definite ways the Society is learning to be of public service and by so much to identify itself as a part of the system of institutions that make Worcester an organic whole—not just a certain number of detached societies and fraternities and corporations and associations and clubs that exist for their own satisfaction alone. To collect and make available all possible means for the study of the story of Worcester and its County, and to use to the full such resources as have been afforded for the strengthening of the social order here—such is the purpose in founding an institution like ours. This is only a report of progress in accomplishing this ever widening task. The New Series of Publications upon which we entered in a modest way two years ago is only one of the many lines of activity through which this purpose seeks to find expression.

By authority of the Massachusetts Legislature the name of this Society was changed ten years ago, partly to prevent confusion in the mails between our earlier name, The Worcester Society of Antiquity, and that of the venerable American Antiquarian Society, with which we try to cooperate. This desired end has certainly not yet been attained. Mail matter is still frequently missent, and there are indications that the Worcester public has hardly yet grasped the real purpose of either organization. Quite recently, from a prominent local shop has come a bill directed to the "Worcester Antique Society." It certainly did not belong to the Worcester Historical Society, where it was delivered, for no such bill had been contracted. Evidently many years more will be needed for the commercially-minded public to understand that study of the foundations of the social order bears no relation to the popular and lucrative *trade in relics* out of some earlier age.

U. WALDO CUTLER



The
Worcester Historical Society
Publications

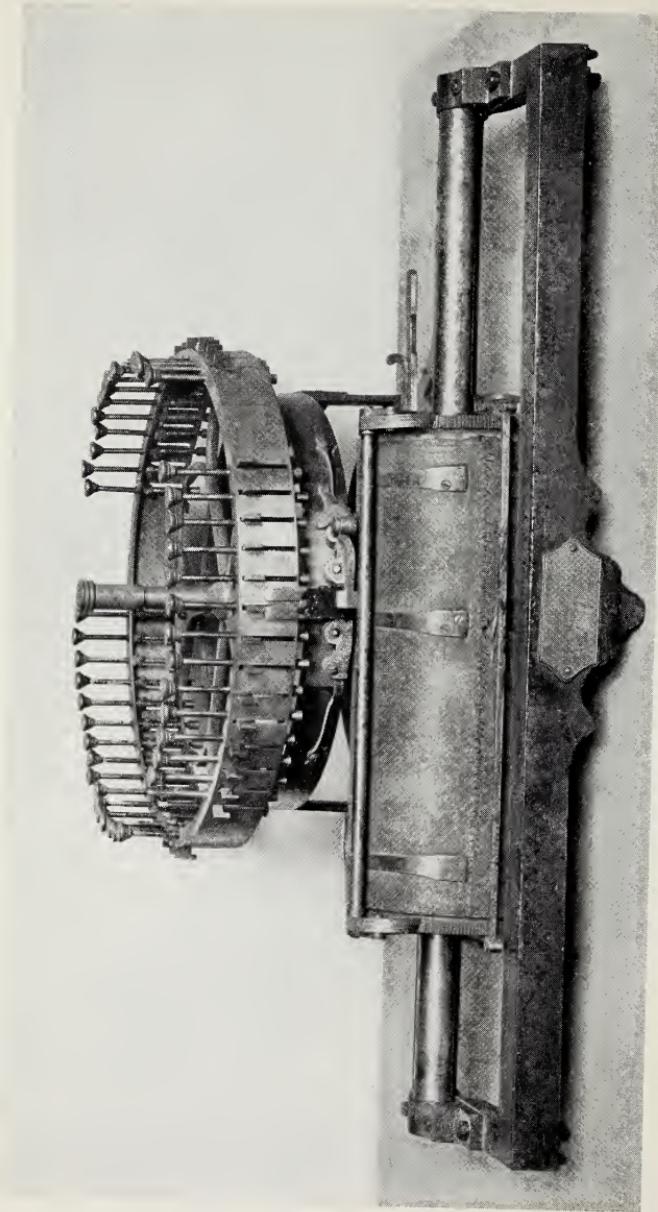
New Series

Vol. 1, No. 4

April, 1931

Published by
The Worcester Historical Society
Worcester, Massachusetts

THE OLD THURBER TYPEWRITER. (See Page 161)



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SOCIETY NOTES U. W. CUTLER



MRS. PENELOPE S. CANFIELD'S RECOLLECTIONS OF
WORCESTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by
Waldo Lincoln, October 11, 1929

Mrs. Penelope Sever Canfield, the oldest daughter of Governor Levi Lincoln, died in Worcester in 1904 in her ninetieth year. She married Dr. Mahlon Dickerson Canfield of New Jersey in 1843, but the marriage proved a mistake, and after a few unhappy years they were divorced and she returned to her parents in Worcester, with whom she lived until her mother's death in 1872, when she removed to a house adjoining the home estate, recently razed to make room for an apartment house, where she passed the rest of her life. Mrs. Canfield had much family pride and was an authority to the younger generations on early events in the history of the family. Toward the end of her life it seems that she corresponded with one or more friends, who had questioned her as to some of these happenings, and in reply gave them her recollections of her grandfather's home on Lincoln Street, long since covered with modern buildings, and certain events of her youth, all of which possess sufficient interest pertaining to life in Worcester in the first half of the nineteenth century to be worth preserving. Fortunately she made copies of the interesting parts of these letters, which were found among her papers after her death, and at the request of the Worcester Historical Society these are here presented. The last letter concerns Salem more than Worcester but is included because of its interesting portrayal of life in New England one hundred years ago.

In the first letter Mrs. Canfield refers to the unfortunate circumstances attending the inauguration of Governor Lincoln on January 4, 1832, at the Old South Church. The Commander of the Cadets, Col. Grenville T. Winthrop, was a son of Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop and brother of the Robert C. Winthrop mentioned. The "caricature" as Mrs. Canfield calls the publication has not been found nor has the author, Mr. H., been identified. He is thought by some to have been the late Senator George F. Hoar. As Robert C. Winthrop died November 16, 1894, the letter must have been written before that date. To whom it was written is unknown.

I feel indignant that Mr. H. should have published this caricature and made father, who so detested anything of the kind, a subject of ridicule. The Election Sermons had always been long drawn out, and sure of time for the Cadets to refresh themselves and get back to take up the escort when the services were over—the breach of discipline remaining unknown—Col. Winthrop unwisely left his post. Father in his uniform, worn on all state occasions, of blue coat with buff facings, buff tights and long boots, chapeau, epaulets, sash and sword, accompanied by his aides also in uniform, came out of the church to find no escort awaiting them. It was not for them to remain standing at the door, so they left, father with head erect as usual, hands by his side, his invariable custom, his aides in position, walked in a dignified manner to the State House, no talking or buffoonery being indulged in in his presence. The Cadets did hasten, on the double quick—possibly, but not in the unmilitary manner represented. Col. Winthrop was court-martialed, the proceedings, which filled a large volume, being in our house until a few years ago, when I gave it to my brother William.

It was an unfortunate affair, and troubled father not a little, Gov. Winthrop, father of the Commander of the Cadets, being associated with him as Lieut. Gov. during a part of his administration and a warm personal friend. But he and his family continued their friendship, allowing it to make no difference. I wish Mr. H. had postponed the publication during the lifetime of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, but perhaps, in the failing state of his health, he may never see or even hear of the book.

Though a child at the time I remember all the circumstances and the excitement produced in social and military circles. Father's uniform was kept for years, and the crimson silk sash, a very heavy and beautiful one, my brother George had on when he fell on the battle field at Buena Vista. It was sent home with his other effects from Mexico and was worn by William¹ all through the late war. Levi, I think, has it now.

The following letter was evidently written to Mrs. E. O. P. Sturges who used it freely in her paper "A story of three old houses," published in the Proceedings of this Society.

I copy now what I found in my writing desk yesterday and did not think when left, worth sending, but my memory reaching further back than yours some of the items may be new to you.

When I was a little child I dined and passed my Saturday afternoons at grandmother Lincoln's on Lincoln street. Her kitchen was the part afterwards occupied by Mr. Hammond, and

¹Gen. William S. Lincoln, Levi was his son. The present ownership of the sash is not known.

if I could get there in time to run into it and watch the meat roasting by an old-fashioned "Jack" I was happy. Then after dinner, Lucy Lincoln², Father's cousin, whose home was with grandmother, would take us, the Parkers with Anne³ and myself, through various rooms behind the kitchen into the dairy, to watch the butter making, with a look into the cool and airy room beside it devoted to cheeses. The poultry yard was another attraction with its Locust grove in which the turkeys went early to roost—its brook, the resort of ducks and geese, and everywhere chickens. Flocks of pigeons flew down from the barns when Lucy appeared, for she was sure to have her apron filled with grain or a large bowl of Indian meal "mush" to scatter among her feathered friends. Under her care we were permitted to visit the barns and feed the young animals,—colts, calves and lambs—to rouse the pigs and stir up the rabbits—and hunt for hens' eggs in the hay. If time allowed we crossed the street and went through the apple orchard to wade in the stream flowing between the double row of trees, "Lincoln's Grove," and to read the names of Worcester belles carved on the bark. Many of these trees are still standing, fresh and vigorous though scarcely larger than when I first remember them in my childhood. The stream, I fancy, disappeared long years ago. Lincoln's pond, back of the old mansion, was enlarged later and I have no recollection of going to it in grandmother's day, though often sailing upon it in uncle William's⁴ Indian canoe at a later date, once being upset in it and rescued with some difficulty.

Grandmother's garden reached nearly to where afterwards stood Mr. Conant's⁵ office with a row of cherry and pear trees inside the wall, and terraces bordered with old-fashioned flowers parallel to the street. Such pinks and wall-flowers and columbines, foxgloves, Canterbury bells, etc., I never saw, with sunflowers, hollyhocks and marigolds in the background. Great snowballs and lilac bushes and syringas were here and there, and honeysuckles, sweetbriars and immense white and damask roses—almost trees—were trained over the porticos and around the doors. I remember a root of nightshade had spread among them and grandmother's fear lest we should eat the pretty shining berries, a deadly poison,—but children were taught obedience then—and we contented ourselves with admiring without tasting the forbidden fruit. Like most of our foremothers she was a busy

²Daughter of Captain Amos Lincoln, a revolutionary officer and member of the Boston Tea Party. Mr. Hammond was Mr. Lincoln's farmer.

³Martha and Elizabeth Parker were Mrs. Canfield's own cousins. Anne was her sister. Elizabeth Parker married Francis H. Kinnicut of Worcester.

⁴William Lincoln, Worcester's historian.

⁵Edwin Conant, who later removed to Harvard Street to the house now occupied by the Worcester Natural History Society.

woman—and found time for her flowers besides attending to her household duties and assisting in the management of a large farm. To this she had become accustomed during the long absences of my grandfather in Washington and Boston. After her death uncle John⁶ and uncle William remained in their old home and the Hammonds took possession of the ell or kitchen part, to make things, in a degree, comfortable for them. Of course the place could not be kept up as before. Later when the Hammonds bought father's Highland street farm⁷ and removed to it, Gov. Davis occupied Grandmother's house, keeping my uncles as boarders. My mother went to housekeeping in what you remember as the "Nashua Hotel" at Lincoln square.⁸ It belonged to one of the Chandler uncles and was then, as she described it, a handsome house with a broad hall running through it, parlors on each side and wide portico over the door, a true colonial mansion. A long front yard extended to what now is a part of the street, with shade trees and flower borders as was the fashion in nice places. The old stone jail stood on the south side of the Square—and British officers, confined there, were frequently seen from the windows, walking within the jail limits. Mother had always lived "up town" and was very homesick until the brick house⁹ was finished and she returned to her old surroundings. This she did with three small children, my older brothers,¹⁰ before the floors were laid—boards being put down temporarily and carpets spread thereon.

My mother's birthplace was Kingston, Plymouth county, her father removing to Worcester when she was a little child, buying what had been a tavern on the site of the brick house and fitting it up for a private residence. His land extended back to what is now called Chestnut street and adjoined one of my grandfather Lincoln's numerous farms. After grandfather Sever's death father bought the place of his widow and eventually came into possession of both farms.

The two following letters were also written to Mrs. Sturgis who incorporated the information contained in them with her article "An old-time cattle show" published in the Bulletin of this Society.

⁶Hon. John W. Lincoln, prominent citizen, selectman, sheriff of the county.

⁷The Highland Street farm was one of five farms which Levi Lincoln, Sr., owned and which were distributed to his sons after his death. It was situated beyond what is now Russell Street, the farm house being a little to the west of the present Park Avenue.

⁸Recently destroyed and the site occupied by a part of the Morgan Construction Company's buildings.

⁹At the corner of Main and Elm Streets, converted into a hotel in 1835 and called the Worcester House.

¹⁰Levi, William Sever and Daniel Waldo.

The Cattle Show addresses about which you ask were, I think, generally given in the "Old South Church" though I was so occupied at home I am not sure I ever heard one. Different orators were invited each year. Grandfather Lincoln was the first president, followed by Daniel Waldo, my great uncle. Father succeeded him in 1824, I believe, and held the office many years when he resigned and my brother William was chosen in his place. When I first remember, Cattle Show was the great event of the year. Its fame had spread and strangers came from all parts of the country to attend it. Our house was always full. Gov. Eustis, John Quincy Adams, Judge Sedgwick, Mr. Webster, twice, Josiah Quincy and many others being father's guests at different times, arriving often the day before, when he usually entertained a party at dinner, and leaving on Thursday, the "day after the fair." Occasionally one staid to be present at mother's ball in the evening. For years she gave one the night after Cattle Show, the many strangers coming to that ball remaining to dance at hers.

Before nine, A. M. on Cattle show day a procession halted at our house headed by a band of music, to take father as president of the Society, his guests and such out-of-town members as had assembled there, to the point of interest first in order. The cattle were to be inspected, the drawing match witnessed, the manufactured articles looked at and oration listened to before dinner. All dined with the society and listened to the speeches from their president and prominent agriculturalists present. The dinner was in the town hall, though when that was needed for the display of manufactures as they increased in numbers, Stockwell's Tavern, where the Bay State House now stands, was the scene of festivities. When a very little child I remember the collection of farming implements, butter and cheese and nondescript fancy-work bedquilts that would banish sleep, etc., were exhibited in a small one-story building, owned by Mr. Maccarty,¹¹ between his house and our own. The "parade of matched oxen," one hundred yoke or more, through Main Street, the ploughing match, the reading of reports and awarding of premiums occupied the rest of the day and then, by general invitation, such members as did not leave town adjourned to our house for coffee. Crowds came and cake of various kinds and tea and coffee were dispensed till a late hour. After all was over mother, with her escorts, went to the ball.

All through the day, between the acts, people were dropping in to partake of refreshments in the shape of cake, wine and lemonade and delicious peaches and bartlett and seckel pears that grew so abundantly in our gardens. The fair was held, as you

¹¹Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty whose house stood on Main Street at the corner of Pearl Street.

know, in October, instead of, as now, early in September. Do you remember our famous Ayrshire cow, "Old Nance" and her cream in which a heavy silver spoon stood upright? Mother was often accused of stirring flour into it. I wish I could remember the amount of milk she gave.

It was this, or perhaps another cow of my grandfather's, which I remember being told as a boy gave twenty-eight quarts of milk a day.

W. L.

You ask about my grandfather Lincoln. His name *was* Levi, my father, the oldest of ten children, being named for him. He died when I was a very little child, but I distinctly remember his erect form as he sat in his old-fashioned, straight-backed mahogany chair, by his library fire, with his white cravat and ruffled wristbands and shirt front, so elaborately crimped. His hands were very handsome and made a lasting impression, for though my father always wore the finest linen—cambric ruffles, his wrists were not ornamented in like manner. After retiring from Jefferson's cabinet (he was his Attorney General) he held the office of Lieut. Governor and on the death of Gov. Sullivan was acting Governor during the remainder of his term. President Madison afterward nominated him as associate justice of the Supreme Court, but his failing eyesight compelled him to decline the honor and retire to private life. He was a great student and in the last years of his life educated and fitted for college his youngest son, my uncle William.

The Cattle Show balls were held, originally, in the hall at Stockwell's tavern—Hathaway's it must have been then—where the Bay State now is. When the last one was given I do not know, nor do I remember when mother began to give hers. It must have been very early in my existence, for we children would be awakened by the music and leave our beds to assemble in the upper hall and hang over the banisters, listening and watching for glimpses of the company as they passed from one room to another below. Occasionally one child, more venturesome than the rest, would slide down the railing to the second floor. If too noisy in our manifestations of delight, mother would be seen approaching to quell the disturbance, when we would hastily disperse and be found snugly tucked up in bed, apparently in the most profound and quiet sleep. Mother gave a ball in eighteen hundred forty-two and, I think, one next year. In 1845, after a long illness, my brother Levi died and other deaths following in rapid succession, a stop was put for several years to any further festivities.

You mention my uncle Enoch in one of your letters. I can only remember seeing him on his very infrequent visits to Wor-

ester. His home was in Maine, of which state he was Governor at the time of his death. He was unmarried and by profession a lawyer, was last here at grandmother's funeral in 1828 and lived but a short time after. At his request William (my brother) was sent to Bowdoin College, with the plan of settling in Maine had uncle Enoch lived. I have in my possession some beautiful pieces of silver, my great grandmother Waldo's formerly, which he left to my mother.

August 17, '98.

The following letter, possibly to Mrs. Sturgis, refers to a long article published February 26, 1898, in the Worcester *Evening Gazette* in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Worcester's becoming a city. It was contributed by Hon. George F. Hoar from his personal recollections, and by John Nelson, a reporter on the *Gazette*, from interviews with several citizens. Mrs. Canfield objects to several statements, especially the following: "Gov. Lincoln was an austere man. He met people with a brusqueness that was sometimes oppressive." "He had an almost invariable habit of coming up a street on the opposite side from the one he had taken going down." The story about "Sidney Burnside" was that when Mr. Burnside urged his gardener, Sidney, to vote for Mr. Lincoln as first mayor of Worcester, Sidney replied: "No, Mr. Burnside, I shan't vote for him. You ought not to vote for him yourself, sir. I say, Damn a man who trims apple trees in the way he does."

Dear E. I send you a "*Gazette*" with "Reminiscences of Worcester Fifty Years Ago," and should have corrected its many mistakes hadn't the task seemed altogether too Herculean. In the first place the "brusqueness" and "austere manner" of my father, noted for his old-time courtesy and uniform politeness to every one, did provoke me. And what boy received such a letter and why was it written, when no neighbor of ours kept hens and we, ourselves, had a variety seldom, if ever, shut up—father having a fancy for seeing them about our place. His being his own policeman was new to me, though being at home I should naturally have heard of it, if founded on fact. Like other people he probably went up and down street on the side most convenient for the transaction of his business.

For years a Tatnuck farmer, named Gates, trimmed and grafted his [Mr. Lincoln's] apple trees, one of which was near the Burnside garden. On their side were three trees, never trimmed and usually adorned with caterpillars' nests. If Sidney Burnside, as he was commonly called, made the remark attributed to him he was not the good gardener we thought him.

Father's parties were not confined, as the senator from Massachusetts would have it appear, to one dinner to the judges of the Supreme Court and an annual ball. On the contrary no stranger of any distinction ever came to Worcester without being entertained by him, and every whig or republican convention, or gathering of any note, was the occasion of a dinner to the most prominent delegates, or an evening reception to the mass. Military companies were almost invariably given collations and even serenaders, of whom in those times there were many, were asked in and regaled. Many a night have we been called from our beds to go down and spread the feast. Mother kept the closets well stocked with tempting viands—had an ample supply of glass, china and all things needful, and, on special occasions, sent to Boston for colored waiters,—old "Mingo" Williams, York, Leonard and Datton frequently coming together or separately as needed, and later Smith and his men.

And about George,¹² Col. Sever,¹³ with whom he first sailed, left the ship as planned at Canton, and the return voyage in charge of an incompetent mate, was anything but a pleasant one. Later he again went to China with Capt. Gillis of Salem, well known to uncle Brazer,¹⁴ but he [Gillis] died on reaching Canton and again the mate took command. His treatment of all on board was so brutal that, at Antwerp, where they touched, George left and, after a few days in Paris, came home thoroughly sick of a "life on the ocean wave." Soon after he entered the army receiving his commission as Second Lieut., 4th Infantry, just before his twenty-first birthday. He was later transferred to the 8th regiment.

What did you think of Nan's¹⁵ standing at the front gate in her close cap and widow's weeds, wrapt in a scarlet shawl? To my knowledge she never owned one. That story grew out of a visit Mrs. Charles Putnam, the widow of mother's cousin, made at our house, soon after her husband's death. She was all in crape, but carried in her hand a bright red embroidered bag, which she explained by telling us that in the provinces, (she came from New Brunswick) it was the thing to wear red with the deepest mourning.

Elizabeth L.¹⁶ was a fearless rider but did not make so good an appearance on horseback as either you or my sister Anne, both taller and more erect than she. She was never pretty and neither should I have called her graceful. She went to school

¹²Her brother, Capt. George Lincoln. He was killed in the Mexican war at the battle of Buena Vista.

¹³James Warren Sever, a cousin of Mrs. Levi Lincoln.

¹⁴Rev. John Brazer of Salem.

¹⁵Widow of Capt. George Lincoln. She married (2) Stephen Salisbury, Sr.

¹⁶Mrs. William S. Lincoln.

in Greenfield, was married at eighteen and lived in Millbury, where William was practising law until they went west—was eight years in Illinois and had a family of four boys to occupy her after her return to Worcester in 1845. William then had no stable and kept no horses until later, consequently her rides must have been infrequent and of no great length.

Do you remember Anne's telling Frederic Gale¹⁷ that her name had a handle? Mr. J. N. needs the same lesson. One would think all those young women were his most intimate friends. A nephew of Mrs. G. T. R.¹⁸ should know better than to speak of them quite so familiarly. I wish people wouldn't "hang out more than they wash" and write about what they know nothing. H. is not reliable; E. S. is misleading and what N. P.¹⁹ doesn't know he thinks not worth knowing. Mrs. S. is her father's own daughter, "a chip of the old block" and romances. All were interviewed before the article was published and hence the result! Better let "bygones be bygones." How few of us can remember accurately so far back! S. S.²⁰ undertook, not long ago, to write a sketch of Mr. H. K. Newcomb for the Fire Society, and admitted to me that he knew not the first thing about him. I should like to have seen the production, for I had known him (Mr. N.) from childhood up. Mr. S. (the father) had a photograph of Mr. Frederic Lincoln of Boston, copied to give to the Antiquarian Society, as a likeness of my uncle William Lincoln.²¹ The two resembled each other somewhat but were not twins.

P. S. L. C. 1898.

The dates and names of the recipients of the following letters cannot be learned.

I hoped to have seen you when you called and to have had my say about Lafayette's visit and those "forks." What lies people will tell! I was a little child at the time but have a distinct recollection of all that occurred. In the first place it was no dinner but a breakfast given to General Lafayette and his suite, with the committee accompanying him and a few invited guests. Father met him the evening before, at Mr. Sampson V. Wilder's in Bolton, at the entrance to whose grounds was an arch inscribed to "Washington, Lafayette and the Great Jehovah." He rode in the carriage with him to our house, mother meanwhile seeing that all preparations were made for his reception and entertain-

¹⁷He and his wife were lost on the SS. *Arctic* in 1854.

¹⁸Mrs. George T. Rice.

¹⁹Senator Hoar, Mrs. Elizabeth Sturgis and Nathaniel Paine.

²⁰Stephen Salisbury, Jr.

²¹Mr. Frederic Walker Lincoln, grandson of Amos Lincoln, was own cousin once removed of William Lincoln. The Antiquarian Society does not seem to have kept the portrait referred to by Mrs. Canfield.

ment. They alighted at our gate, a platform having been erected below the terrace in the long front yard, from which father's address of welcome and the General's reply were given. There was no "historic elm" in the case, the two large elm trees south of the house, overhanging the driveway, being separated from the front yard by a fence. The military companies, which had escorted the procession, were drawn up in front, and a crowd of townspeople filled the street and the adjacent yards. No ladies were present at the breakfast and, the time being limited, none were presented to Gen. Lafayette, though as many as could be accommodated watched his entrance and departure from the numerous front windows of the mansion. I was led in to see him and well remember him as he stood near the fire-place in the spacious south-east parlor, and laying his hand upon my head, bent over and bestowed a kiss upon the cheek of the little child trembling in front of him.

As to the silver, possibly some extra spoons might have been borrowed for the occasion from relatives or near neighbors—as in those days no one was expected to have all that might be required for an elaborate entertainment. Few people even in Boston owned silver forks and here they were then never used. Dr. Paine had a limited number, probably brought from England when permitted to return to his own country after banishment as a refugee. No silver forks were placed upon my father's table until he purchased them in Boston, when they came into use there. Before that time I remember my mother would put aside the small package of Paine forks until the spoons were washed and ready to be returned. She would never shine in borrowed plumage nor use silver forks until she owned them.

Capt. L. [her brother George] was strikingly handsome, in face and figure equally distinguished, tall, broad-shouldered, erect, with a military air and graceful carriage, he looked every inch the hero that he was. His features were regular, eyes a clear blue, shadowed by long lashes, which, having been burned off when a child by an explosion of a toy cannon, had grown again much longer and of a deeper shade than before. His hair and complexion, originally light, had become darkened by exposure to a tropical sun. I think I once told you that his aunt, Mrs. Sever, with a companion, was passing up Broadway in New York as two officers came out of a hotel and walked on a little before them. They were so struck by the air and figure of one of them that aunt A. exclaimed, "What a magnificent looking man! I shall go by him and turn to see if his face corresponds." She did so and the recognition was mutual, and she said afterwards no disappointment mingled with her pleasure. He was called the Chevalier Bayard of his regiment.

Oct. 9, 1900.

My dear S.²²

I had hoped to see you when next you called, but much to my disappointment, was obliged last evening to deny myself that pleasure. My health is not now to be depended upon, and though feeling quite well one day, the next may find me under the doctor's care. Thank you for the pamphlet in which I was much interested. Elizabeth²³ is not always quite accurate but perhaps more so than the average of scribblers. Her "Recollections" of my grandfather's house were of a later date than mine—after my uncles had ceased to occupy it and it had fallen from its high estate. It was originally a square house, built in colonial style, with a parlor on each side of a hall leading from the front door to a large dining-room in the rear and a smaller apartment in which my grandfather kept his books and papers. On the south, between the parlor and dining-room, was a door opening upon a side yard and garden, and farther back an ell—not a separate building—containing the kitchen, dairy, etc. Large barns were far in the background at the north. On Lincoln street, below the garden, was a small, square, wooden building, my grandfather's office when practising law, removed later to make way for the Goodwin, afterward the Conant house. I think the printer must be responsible for the mistake in Elizabeth's paper. The old fashioned "Jack" roasted meat but certainly never could have accomplished washing. Probably no member of the "Society of Antiquity" ever saw one in operation.

Oct. 12.

I must apologize now for sending these "reminiscences," which after writing I threw into the waste basket. But wishing to thank you for the pamphlet and to return some cards found in it, I have concluded to leave you to read and destroy them for me. I can safely promise not to trouble you in the same way again.

Yours very truly

P. S. C.

March 1898.

Dear E.²⁴

I should have returned your book last week but kept it for a second and third reading, the last to P²⁵ whose enjoyment of it was very little less than my own. It brought Salem directly be-

²²Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr.²³Mrs. Elizabeth O. P. Sturgis.²⁴Probably Mrs. Sturgis.²⁵Her daughter Penelope.

fore me as I knew it in my younger days, when a part of every winter was passed at my aunt Brazer's²⁶. With few exceptions I knew all the people you mention and have taken tea or spent evenings at most of their houses. Your aunt T's marmalade merits all you say of it and I have also eaten the same at your aunt Rose's²⁷. I am glad someone beside myself knows the difference between the real Damson and the modern plum so-called. We had the "true blue" in our old garden and mother scorned all others.

Miss Mary Silsbee, before she married Mr. Jared Sparks, sent me this note: "Will Miss Lincoln do me the favor to take tea with me tomorrow afternoon? And will Miss Lincoln do me the favor to excuse a pencilled note? R. S. V. P."

These letters puzzled me at that remote period but I answered the note, and when my aunt, who was also invited, met our hostess she admitted our ignorance and was duly enlightened. Miss S. had just returned from Washington, where she had been living with her father, then in Congress, in the rooms afterwards occupied by us at Miss Corcoran's. Sarah Ann S., her cousin, I remember well and two of the William Silsbee's with their aunts, the Misses Hodges, and several Silsbee young men, two of them classmates of my brother Waldo and a third in college with him. I was at a ball at Mr. Frank Peabody's in his then new house on Essex Street and, later, went with him and Mrs. Peabody to a military ball in Hamilton Hall. All the elite were present. Mr. Pickering Dodge sent me for the occasion a beautiful bouquet from his own greenhouse. He came often to uncle Brazer's and his wife I knew well, as I also did the whole Coleman family whom I had often met at aunt Blake's in Boston²⁸. The Blakes all called him uncle Coleman, a daughter of his having married their relative, Mr. J. H. Mills. Judge Daniel A. White's family, though not parishioners, were very intimate at uncle B's and Mrs. Foote and Mrs. Morrison²⁹, not then married, were especial favorites at the parsonage.

I always took tea at Miss Love (Rawlins as she preferred to be called) Pickman's and saw a great deal of Mrs. Dr. P. and her daughter Mary. Dr. Gideon Barstow's was another house where I went to tea. He and Mr. Leverett Saltonstall, Dr. Flint and the senior Mr. Nat. Silsbee, when at home, always calling on me, much to the amusement of my young cousins, the Brazer

²⁶Mrs. John Brazer, sister of the senior Mrs. Levi Lincoln. Her husband was a Unitarian minister in Salem.

²⁷Joseph Warner Rose married Harriet Paine. They were parents of the late Mrs. George Chandler of Worcester.

²⁸Probably Mrs. Joshua B. Blake is meant. She was an own cousin of Mrs. Canfield's mother.

²⁹Daughters of Judge White.

boys and girls. They had all staid at our house when coming as delegates to conventions in Worcester. Dr. Barstow's square pew in the North Church adjoined the minister's and it was a constant entertainment to see his numerous family of all ages and sizes, file in and seat themselves around their father, who occupied a high chair in the center, overlooking them all. Next my seat sat a small girl who, at intervals, looked over and smiled upon or slyly touched me. Tea was handed around when I went to Mrs. Saltonstall's and everything was more formal than at other places. There I twice met Dr. Loring. How the tables did shine, absolutely glisten, at the Stone's and Mrs. Ben Barstow's who never failed at each visit to ask me to tea. Miss E. Pickman and Mrs. Stephen C. Phillip's family and Mrs. Howes and Miss Burley were among those whose kind attention to me, a young girl, I have never forgotten. One person, often seen at Aunt Anne's, I have omitted, Miss Eliza Endicott, afterwards Mrs. Augustus Perry. I was in Salem when her engagement to Capt. Perry was announced, and what a commotion it produced! He was a mere boy when his older brother whom she was to have married died. She was not as handsome as her sisters, the Mrs. Peabodys³⁰, but dressed fashionably and was noted for her fine figure and striking appearance. In the day of "abbreviated skirts" Uncle B. exchanged with a neighboring minister newly settled, and meeting his old sexton on his return said "Well Gavitt, how was the sermon today?" "Ahem, Mr. Braser, it'll do for a flounce to Liza Endicott's petticoat."

All the Unitarian ministers called at uncle B's when exchanging pulpits, and not infrequently staid there over Sunday. Mr. Andrew Peabody I have met there and Mr. Foy and Mr. Pierpont. Dr. Parkman came during one of his visits and when the "Help" brought in the tray with tea—she was very tall and in the low old-fashioned parlor looked even taller—the Doctor was attracted. He paused in his conversation, took a long breath and raising his eyes nearer and still nearer to the ceiling, uttered the one word "em-i-nent" and subsided. His expression and manner were so comical that Mary and I shook with laughter and dared not look at each other for the rest of the evening. We could never decide whether he or Dr. George Ellis was the best story-teller. One Sunday evening at my father's, after preaching two eloquent sermons and delighting large congregations, Dr. P. entertained a room-full of visitors until they forgot time and place and became so uproarious that we actually feared the neighborhood would be aroused and cause an investigation. Judge [Pliny] Merrick and Mr. [Geo. T.] Rice, Dr. [John] Park and Gov. [Emory] Washburn, [Geo. W.] Richardson, Mr. [Samuel M.] Burnside, Judge [Benj. F.] Thomas and other kindred

³⁰Clarissa, wife of George Peabody; and Martha, wife of Francis Peabody.

spirits were all present and helped keep the ball rolling. The Doctor more than once after alluded to that gathering.

One old Brookline minister who exchanged with uncle Brazer did not enjoy his visit. It was before my time, but I have heard the story from my aunt. He arrived, as was customary, on Saturday P. M. and aunt Anne devoted herself to making him comfortable but noticed that he seemed nervous and ill at ease. It was shortly after the White murder and he talked of that and of nothing else, inquiring into every particular. He delayed going to bed though she told him his room was warm and everything ready. Still he lingered, continuing to dwell upon the murder but about midnight took his lamp and withdrew. She went to her room and at intervals during the night heard movements in his, and early in the morning his door was opened and he descended to the parlor. At breakfast, in answer to her inquiries, he admitted his sleep had been disturbed and he was not refreshed. He preached two sermons and hastening back soon appeared "all booted and spurred" with knapsack in hand, ready to shake the dust of Salem from his feet. She begged him to stay till morning and said all that was polite, but in vain, and he departed to seek a conveyance and find refuge under his own roof-tree in Brookline. She learned later that he was thoroughly frightened and that nothing would have kept him another night so near the scene of such an atrocity.

Uncle B. had a rich and liberal parish and he always shared in the distribution of their good things. The Derbys and Pickmans and old Capt. Peabody supplied him, as they did your aunt T.³¹, with the choicest tea and coffee—and long rows of spices and pickles and preserves testified to their kind thought of him and his family. Those quaint East-Indian jars were my especial admiration. Weddings furnished rich plum cake, sufficient for all their needs, each bride in the parish sending a generous slice, and often a half or even a whole loaf, and so with fruit and vegetables. They had seldom to buy either and had usually enough and to spare for others.

Aunt Anne was apt to delay if anything directed her attention from the work in hand. So to expedite matters and to make the room ready for early callers I often, when with her, washed the breakfast dishes and dusted her parlor. What a custom it was in those times to "drop in" upon ones friends at any hour and how pleasant and sociable it all seemed! A minister's family was always liable to interruptions.

I began with no intention of writing all this, but your recollections gave me so much pleasure that I was tempted to add a few of my own for your private entertainment.

P. S. L. C.

³¹Mrs. Ichabod Tucker *née* Esther Orne Paine.

WORCESTER'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE INVENTION OF THE TYPEWRITER

Read before the Worcester Historical Society By
Albert E. Fay, January 13, 1920

It is hard for one closely identified with a business or profession so to detach himself from it as to be able to understand the attitude of the public toward it. Nevertheless, I will venture to say that people in general, probably also the members of this society, look on inventions as springing Minerva-like, full panoplied, from the head of a single inventor. When we say that Watt invented the steam engine, Howe the sewing machine, the Wright brothers the flying machine, we perhaps fail to understand that in each case numerous minds had labored on the problem long before the reputed inventor was born, and that some of them had added something that finally had to be adopted to render the invention practicable. Another thing we seldom see is the fact that the one who adds the final touch that makes an operative device out of an idea, or who finally combines in the right way the ideas of his predecessors, necessarily devotes months and years, sometimes a lifetime, to the subject before he succeeds. Few inventions, if any, strike the inventor with the suddenness of a stroke of lightning.

The subject before us now is not the invention of the typewriter, but the contribution to that of Charles Thurber, a former resident of Worcester. He was not the first to think of the possibilities of such a machine, nor the first to devote some time to the design of one, or the building of a model. Over two hundred years ago, in 1714, a prominent engineer of Great Britain took out a patent on a machine which he described as follows:

"An artificial machine or method for the impressing or transcribing of letters singly or progressively one after another as in writing, whereby all writings whatsoever may be engrossed in paper or parchment so neat as not to be distinguished from print; the said machine may be of great use in settlements and public records, the impression being deeper and more lasting than any other writing and not to be erased or counterfeited without manifest discovery." He says that: "He has by his great study, pains and expense, lately introduced (it) and brought (it) to perfection," but there is now

no evidence to substantiate this assertion. These quotations represent all that he handed down to the present generation of his idea. They are taken from the British patent granted to Henry Mill, January 7, 1714, No. 395. His contribution therefore reduces itself to the mere suggestion that a machine for the purposes he mentions would be useful in the limited way he set forth. With the exception of a suggestion of a machine for embossing printed characters for the blind, said to have been made in 1784, and lost, nothing was added to this art until 1829 when William A. Burt, of Detroit, the inventor of the solar compass, obtained the first American patent for a typewriter. We at least know that he made a wooden model, for at that time that was a prerequisite to the grant of a patent. Probably he was the first in the world to make a device that would perform the functions of a typewriter, but the model is said to have been crude and clumsy, and the only one made was destroyed by the fire of 1836. (*The Evolution of the Typewriter*, H. Overleigh, *Belford's Magazine* for April, 1892.)

The credit for having been the first to have invented a typewriter and actually to have handed down to posterity a description of it, must be given to Xavier Projin, of Marseilles, who illustrated and described his "Machine Plume" in his French patent of September, 1833, No. 3748. Overleigh and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Werner Edition, both fail to give him the credit to which he was entitled, even spelling his name in two ways, both apparently wrong. He was the first, so far as we know, to place the type on levers arranged in an arc, a complete circle in his case, which is at the foundation of the Remington, the first practical machine, and which was afterwards (1856) claimed as the invention of Mr. A. E. Beach, junior member of Munn & Co., publishers of *The Scientific American*. Projin's hammers all converged and struck at the center, but the machine itself moved over the stationary paper and had to be pushed a step at a time by hand. He had a rack to control that and also one to control the line spacing. The device, however, was not practical because both of these operations were performed by separate hand motions, because no good method of inking was suggested, and because it seems that the operator would have to walk around the machine to select the keys to operate. Projin also indicated some kind of a shifting arrangement, saying, "For capital letters and spaces, a double movement is made." His key-

board as illustrated indicates concentric circles of characters. This idea of the swinging type bars striking at a common center was also invented again for use in connection with printing on a strip by telegraphy by Alexander Bain and Wright in 1841. They suggested the ink ribbon also. (Br. at. 9204—1841.)

The above shows the state of this invention when the problem was attacked by Charles Thurber, a teacher in the Latin Grammar School at Thomas Street in Worcester, Mass. The firm Allen & Thurber made his model, it is understood. Its business was the manufacture of pistols. The Remington Co., which afterwards brought the typewriter to a practical state, operated a fire-arm factory. I know of no reason why there should be any correlation between the two industries except that the typewriter and certain fire arms produce similar sounds.

It may be thought to detract from the credit due him, that Thurber had not the vision to foresee the real utility of this invention, apparently not going, in this respect, beyond the preceding English and French inventors of whom probably he had never heard. It must be remembered, however, that Worcester was only a small town at the time, business was carried on in a small way, and stenography was in its infancy. In his patent, No. 3228, granted August 26, 1843, he says:—

“This machine is intended as a substitute for writing, where writing with a pen is inconvenient by reason of incompetency in the performer. It is especially intended for the use of the blind who, by touching the keys on which raised letters are made and which they can discriminate by the sense of touch, will be enabled to commit their thoughts to paper. It is intended for the nervous likewise, who cannot execute with a pen. It is useful for making public records as they can be made with this machine as accurately as with a common printing press. It is intended for those who wish to keep a legible record of daily events, so that they may be read with ease and dispatch by others; and the various useful purposes to which it may be applied will readily suggest themselves to every one.”

Thurber, or Allen & Thurber, evidently made at least two models of typewriters, for the patent describes the Patent Office model, no doubt, as was necessary at that time, and as appears from the context, and the model which is in the possession of the Worcester

Historical Society, although containing many of its features, is, in some respects, quite a different machine. I have tried to deduce from them which was the earlier, but each contains features absent from the other, that, judging from what we now know of the art, ought not to have been abandoned. The model came into the possession of the Society in this manner: Mr. Charles B. Pratt, ex-mayor of Worcester bought the house on the corner of Main and Piedmont Streets, in which possibly Mr. Thurber had lived. In the barn this model was found together with another, to be mentioned later, and given by Mr. Pratt to Mr. Herbert R. Cummings, who at that time, about 1884, was introducing the Remington typewriter into Worcester. He found, I am told, that most of the hard-headed practical business men of that day could not, even by argument, be made to see any more clearly than Thurber had, forty years before, the wonderful possibilities of this machine. Mr. Cummings called the attention of the Remington people to the model and it was exhibited all over the country, and illustrated in *The Scientific American* for April 30, 1887, as "The First American Typewriter." It was also described in the *Worcester Spy*, January 18, 1887. The model afterwards came back to Mr. Cummings, who later presented it to this Society. Some features of it were broken or missing and were restored by him.

The model had for its most conspicuous feature a type wheel rotatable on a vertical axis. This had to be turned to bring the proper letter or sign to the printing spot, and although an improvement over Projin's arrangement, it made the whole machine unpractical from the modern standpoint and called forth the comment of the *Britannica* that it was only a scientific toy. Yet even with that handicap, it would serve the purposes for which the inventor intended it. If my memory serves, there is on the market a toy typewriter embodying this type wheel, and in fact resembling this model quite closely, even as to size. This old model contained another original feature, which unlike the type wheel, is now universally used, namely, the cylinder for supporting the paper with a ratchet wheel on it for spacing. It is to be noted, however, that the lines of writing were circumferential instead of longitudinal as in the modern machines. So this spacing was for the letters instead of the lines. It seems that Thurber saw how to provide for an automatic letter feed, but it is not complete on the model. But

enough of the mechanism is there to be rendered complete by the description in the patent. In his patent, Thurber abandoned the cylinder and placed the paper flat on a platen which he fed along automatically by the depression of the keys. He showed two ways of doing this. This is one of the essential features of the practical typewriter, and Thurber is entitled to full credit as its originator.

Going back to the model again, it seems rather queer that in order to write the intended letter it was not necessary to strike only that one, but merely to place the wheel in the right place. That being done, the operator might press down as many keys as he liked, so long as he also hit the right one.

The model has a line spacer like Projin's, but the patent has a more awkward one, which is adjustable, however, for type of different sizes. Other original features which the patent shows are a lever for spacing between words and a way of adjusting the feed to allow for short and long letters, a feature which has been made much of in recent years by certain manufacturers for the purpose of claiming an improvement over the Remington machine.

The inking arrangement on the model does not seem complete. But in the patent it is made operative, though not practical. A large wheel at the back of the model "wades", as he says, in an ink trough and applies ink to some elastic cushions on the bottom of the horizontal wheel. These in turn transfer it to rollers at the front. In order to use it, the type that is to print is depressed part way, to a stop shown in the patent, to bring it into contact with this inking wheel before it is finally struck. This operation was not necessary for each impression as the wheel could be turned several times before commencing to print, to apply ink to all the type.

It appears therefore, that Thurber suggested all the essential features of the modern typewriter, except those which had been suggested by Projin and Bain, and that the only essential lacking when Thurber's work was done, was to combine them. It was this combination of the features herein described that really constituted the invention of a practical typewriter: namely, the Remington.

It may be noted that Thurber suggested several modifications of some of the mechanism above referred to, including mounting the wheel on a horizontal axis and using radial keys. He also, perhaps dropping the idea of the typewriter, invented a "Mechani-

cal Chirographer" as he called it. An early model, in the form of a pantograph, is in the possession of the Worcester Historical Society, having been presented to it with the typewriter by Mr. Cummings. After Mr. Thurber went to Norwich, he patented an improvement on that, November 18, 1845, No. 4271. It was for the same purpose as the pantograph and the typewriter. His attitude toward them at that time may be seen from this statement in his last patent: "The former (pantograph) has always been considered too unwieldy to be governed by the fingers of the writer, and the latter (typewriter) attended with too much trouble and difficulty." His Chirographer was an extremely ingenious machine for duplicating or producing handwriting, and the principle could be used for almost anything, including even cubist art, although not foreseen by the inventor.

Mr. Thurber was not merely an inventor; he was a man of considerable note in this community. He was born in East Brookfield, Mass., January 2, 1803, the son of Rev. Laban Thurber and Abigail (Thayer) Thurber. His father was the second pastor of the East Brookfield Baptist Church (*History of North Brookfield*). Undoubtedly he was stationed in many places while Charles Thurber was in his childhood. The son attended Brown University and graduated in the class of 1827. He received the degree of A.B. and A.M. and was later a trustee, 1853-1856.

After graduation, he was teacher in the Milford, Mass., Academy about four years. The Brown University "Necrology" for 1886-1887 (*Providence Journal*, June 15, 1887) states that he removed from Milford to Worcester in 1832, and was for eight years teacher and principal of the Worcester Latin Grammar School, located at Thomas Street. But in 1840 he described himself in a deed as a resident of Grafton.

During part of this period, he was engaged in manufacturing with his brother-in-law, Ethan Allen, the partnership Allen & Thurber being formed about 1837, and continuing until 1856 when Mr. Thurber retired. Allen & Thurber were located in New England Village and Norwich, Conn., but afterward in Merrifield's Building in Worcester. They remained there until the great fire in 1854, and then erected a shop at the Junction (*Washburn's Industrial Worcester*). Allen & Thurber sold out to Hopkins & Allen Arms Co., of Norwich, Conn., after 1883. The invention of the

typewriter above described evidently took place while Thurber was in Worcester.

He was a member of the Board of Overseers for the Center School District in 1843, and County Commissioner from Worcester in 1844. Although the public accounts of him indicate that he remained in Worcester all through this interval, his name is not included in the Worcester *Directories* of 1844 to 1847, inclusive. But, on the contrary, he executed deeds during that period, and his above-mentioned patent on the Chirographer, in which he stated that his residence was Norwich, Conn. He came back to Worcester in 1847 or 1848 and lived at the South East corner of Madison and Main Streets in the house which he later sold to Ex-Mayor Charles B. Pratt.

He represented Worcester in the Massachusetts Senate in 1852 and 1853. He was also director of the City Bank of Worcester, in 1854, and on the first Board of Directors of the Worcester Gas Light Company in 1849 (*Lincoln's History of Worcester*). He left Worcester about 1858, perhaps living at that time at the corner of Main and Piedmont Streets, which land also came into the possession of Mr. Pratt, and in the barn of which the model of the typewriter and writing machine were found by Mr. Cummings. After leaving Worcester, he lived successively in Brooklyn, N. Y., Germantown, Pa., Nashua, N. H. He made two long trips to Europe, spending several years there. He died in Nashua, N. H., and was buried at Rural Cemetery, Worcester, Mass.

At the time of his death, a meeting of his former pupils was held to take suitable action, and President Thomas Chase of Haverford College read an interesting paper concerning his character in which he said: "He had an active, vigorous mind and ample knowledge, both of which inspired respect, but his special grace was his geniality. He was never the hated master, he was always the kindly friend. And yet he never compromised his dignity. He kept excellent order, and could be stern when occasion required." He had a remarkable facility for interesting his pupils by clear illustration and apt remarks. In teaching Greek, he made use of charts for exhibiting paradigms of the declensions, and especially of the Greek verb in all its forms, and by a skillfully constructed tree, setting before the pupils its entire genealogy.

He is said to have retained throughout life the classical and

literary tastes formed in college, and was the author of a considerable number of poems. These he delivered before literary societies and college commencements. Some of them are described as lively and entertaining, but those which are printed are somewhat lengthy in view of the subjects on which they treat. All his poems in manuscript form were presented by him to the Brown University Library.

He married, first, Lucinda A. Allen, of Bellingham, sister of Ethan Allen, who, by the way, was not related to the Ethan Allen of Revolutionary fame. She died in 1852 in Worcester, and he later married Mrs. Caroline (Esty) Bennett. Two daughters survived him: Mrs. Marion F. Bird of Brooklyn, and Mrs. Helen Von Scheurer.

It may seem peculiar that a man who acquired a fortune in manufacturing so that he was able to retire from business after having been engaged in it about twelve years should have devoted so much of his time to the writing of poetry and also should have had the faculty of the inventor, without being able to turn his invention to practical account. It may not be amiss, however, to call attention to the fact that to be able to contribute to the progress of the world by invention, one should have a combination of the practical *and* the visionary in his make-up.

ALBERT E. FAY

WORCESTER COUNTY: ITS HISTORY, WITH DISCUSSION OF ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE IT

Read before the Worcester Historical Society by
Z. W. Coombs, February 10, 1928

The idea of the County is derived from England, like so many of our political ideas. In England the county is the chief of the administrative areas into which the kingdom is divided. The name "county" is applied to these administrative areas, and the name "shire" is used also. Curiously, however, the name "shire" is never applied to the areas representing certain of the earlier Kingdoms. To Kent, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cumberland, the name county is always applied. In early times Scotland had a county "Strathearn," and under King John, Ireland was divided into twenty counties, this division existing approximately today. Formerly there were five counties Palatine, Lancaster, Chester, Durham, Hexham, and Pembrook, but today only Lancaster and Chester are so denominated.

There can be no doubt that the county is an ancient division. According to the popular manner of accounting for the origin of social institutions the division into counties is attributed to the wisdom of the early kings, especially King Alfred. More probable it is, however, that the county came before the nation. In fact the county seems to be the representative of an independent kingdom or community, long since merged into the larger unity of the English Kingdom. Alfred the Great is said to have divided the country into hundreds and these again into tithings. But the truth is exactly the opposite: the sub-division of the county came before the county itself. The parish, the manor, the township, all appear traceable to the independent tribal settlement, the village community, of the early Saxons. They appear in history with their political and judicial organism complete. A combination of these units forms the district of the hundred; and a combination of hundreds forms the county. All of these groups have the same kind of organization. They all have their moots or meetings, partly judicial, partly political in character, and their head-man, or reeve. The Witenagemot of the Saxon Kingdom is the folk-moot for the whole Kingdom, corresponding to the folk-moot for the shire or county.

In the period preceding the Norman Conquest two officers appear at the head of the county organization, the ealdorman, or earl, and the scir-gerifa, or sheriff. The latter was more particularly the representative of the King, the former represented, in dignity, at least, the head of the county before it had ceased to be an independent community. After the Conquest the Sheriff became a purely royal officer (*vice-comes*, or ballivus). He held an annual court, (the sheriff's tourn or leet) to which vassals of the King were suitors. These were the judicial tribunals for the people within the jurisdiction of the county. An appeal lay from them to the King, and the growth of the King's court in its three developments: King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, tended to draw suits at the first instance away from the county court into the higher tribunal. The county court, moreover, arranged the assessment of rates, and the sheriff was, in fact, the financial representative of the crown within his district. When the principle of representation came into existence, the county court was the assembly which elected the Knights of the Shire. The ancient offices of coroner and verderer were also filled up by the same assembly. The county organization then, in many points, retained the features of an independent political society. From the time of the Plantagenets its importance in the constitution declined.

The office of sheriff in England has lost all its financial and nearly all its judicial duties. He is now chiefly a ministerial officer,—arrests or imprisons, summons and returns the jury, carries the judgment of the court into effect, and has certain other minor duties.

In American usage a county may be defined as the principal local sub-division of a state, created by the sovereign power for political and judicial purposes. County organizations are almost exclusively designed to carry out the general governmental policy of the state at large by the formation of convenient districts to serve as bases of administration in the matters of elections, the jurisdiction of the courts and the care of prisoners, the care of the poor, finance, highways, militia, education, and the like. Established without the direct consent or solicitation of the inhabitants of the community, counties differ in this respect from municipalities, which are created mainly for the advancement and profit of the citizens, and at their particular request. Although all of the states

are divided into counties, or districts equivalent to counties, and these all bear a close resemblance in many of the powers with which they are vested by the state, yet the number and the importance of the governmental functions exercised by these public or quasi corporations, vary greatly according to the influence upon the particular state of one or the other of two widely different systems of civil government introduced and developed in the original colonies from the time of the English settlement.

In the South, colonies planted chiefly in the interest of proprietaries, prevailed. The great majority of the settlers were incapable and careless of direct participation in public affairs, of plans of government, of methods of administration. Hence the methods of government familiar in England were naturally imported into the new country, and this included the county system of England, imposed with little change by the general government. The population in the South, widely scattered, was agricultural. Therefore in Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, Georgia, Delaware, and even Pennsylvania, the administration by means of county organization is apparent almost from the start, and the system thus inaugurated has been extended, with certain modifications, to the greater number of states subsequently established. Under this pure county system nearly all the functions of government are exercised by county officials, elected by the county at large, and acting strictly under the statute law of the state.

When New England was settled, the nature of the country combined with the peculiar qualities of the Puritan character and ecclesiastical polity, to bring about a congregation of the people in closely settled communities, and gave a preponderating influence to the towns as the basis of civil government. Towns instead of counties became the instruments of the local administration of public affairs, and each individual freeman influenced government by his presence and vote at the town meeting. Later, when it was deemed expedient to conform to the method of territorial division prevailing in the other states, counties were created throughout the New England states. This was done, not by the extinction of the powers of the town but by the voluntary surrender of a portion of their prerogatives to the county organization. Hence the counties of New England are a mere collection of towns, formed mainly with the view of defining more conveniently the jurisdiction of the

courts, and of caring for certain public property, the older municipalities still retaining the greater number of their functions in the machinery of government. In the states, largely influenced by emigration from New England, such as New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, is seen a combination of these two systems, by which, although larger powers have been conferred upon the counties, a direct influence of the towns in county affairs being carefully maintained by the appointment of boards of county officers, whose members are representatives elected by the various townships instead of by the county at large.

In the states established since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, a fairly uniform plan of creating new counties has prevailed. The fundamental, or enabling, act of Congress, by which a portion of the national domain may be converted into a territory of the Union, has usually conceded to the Territorial Legislature then constructed, the right, either express or implied, to parcel off the land into counties or districts. Upon admission to the Union of the several states, their constitutions have recognized the county divisions already made, have provided for further subdivisions, and have laid down certain restrictions in regard to the extent of Congressional districts, the change and establishment of county towns, and similar matters.

The details of county organization, the powers to be exercised, the names, duties, and mode of election of the county officers, are defined by acts of the legislature, and vary somewhat in the different states.

The word "county" is not of uniform occurrence in designating these principal divisions of a state. In Louisiana districts exercising the functions of counties are called parishes. This name was used at first in Georgia. Until quite recently the present counties of South Carolina were known as election districts.

Worcester County was the tenth county division to be established in what is now the state of Massachusetts. The nine previously existing were: Essex, Middlesex and Norfolk, erected May 10, 1643; Hampshire, May 21, 1662; Barnstable, Bristol, and Plymouth, June 21, 1685; Dukes, November 1, 1693; and Nantucket, June 20, 1695. The Norfolk County mentioned here ceased to exist in 1680, when New Hampshire was established as a separate province. It had contained six towns. Four went with New Hampshire, the remain-

ing two being added to Essex. The present Norfolk County was formed in 1693.

When the new county of Worcester was first discussed, there was bitter opposition from various quarters. Middlesex, Suffolk and Hampshire counties were most concerned. The new county would take eight towns from Middlesex: namely, Worcester, Lancaster, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Southborough, Leicester, Rutland, and Lunenburg. Suffolk county would lose Mendon, Woodstock, Oxford, Sutton, and Uxbridge; Hampshire would lose Brookfield, including, of course, the modern subdivisions of North, East, and West Brookfield. Between several of these townships lay territory as yet unorganized into towns, and all this territory would go to the new county. Some of this territory had already been granted but not yet occupied. For instance, some of this land had been granted to "petitioners of Medfield," as they are called in the old records. This grant was for some years called "New Medfield," but in 1730 became Sturbridge. Other grants had been made to soldiers who had taken part in the war against the Narragansetts. Woodstock was one of the original towns of Worcester county but it had little part in the history of the county. The first boundary line between Massachusetts and Connecticut, known as Woodward and Safrey's line, was run in 1642. Previously to 1642, Connecticut had claimed Woodstock under the so-called Charter granted by Robert, Earl of Warwick, dated March 19, 1631. In July 13, 1713, an adjustment of the line was reached by the two provinces, which declared the Woodward-Safrey line erroneous, being six or seven miles too far south. All Woodstock was, therefore, found to be in territory covered by the Charter of Connecticut issued by Charles II, April 20, 1652. The people living in Woodstock preferred to pay their taxes in Connecticut, since they were lower in this province than in Massachusetts. An adjustment of the dispute seemed to be reached by the grant to Connecticut of 107,793 acres of land. But this apparent adjustment was not effective. In October, 1752, Connecticut formally accepted Woodstock, Enfield, and Suffield as belonging to its territory, but Massachusetts still claimed them. After the Revolution further discussion as to the towns ceased, and they have ever since remained parts of Connecticut. So the latter province received the towns, and the 107,793 acres of land too.

We have noted the opposition to the formation of the new county. It had its advocates. As early as 1728 it was favored by certain towns in Middlesex and Suffolk. Soon Lancaster, in Middlesex county, at that time one of the leading towns in this part of the province, favored it, but on condition that Marlborough should be made the seat of the Superior Court, Lancaster being the seat of the two inferior courts. In 1729, another plan was devised, for "erecting a new county in ye westerly part of ye county of Middlesex," which Lancaster, the most populous town in the region, favored. Mendon, however, a very influential town, opposed separation from Suffolk county and Uxbridge also opposed separation, unless Mendon was made the shire town of the new county. Lancaster strongly desired the honor of being one of the two county seats and it might have received this honor save for the strong opposition of one of its most prominent citizens, Judge Joseph Wilder, who was its representative in the Assembly. Judge Wilder believed that the presence of the courts in Lancaster would bring in their train a host of undesirable followers, who would be a constant source of trouble and vexation to the town's quiet and orderly citizens. And there is no doubt that this opinion, and the influence of the Judge, prevailed when the decision came to be made. Oxford too hoped to be chosen as the site of the county buildings, and Rutland, a flourishing town, believed that its central location would be a determining factor in the final choice. As a matter of fact Rutland did lose in the selection by only a single vote. The citizens of Worcester, apparently, made little effort in the matter, but Worcester was chosen as the shire town, and gave its name to the county.

The erecting act was passed by the General Court April 2, 1731, O. S., the governor at the time being Jonathan Belcher. By a supplementary act passed April 12, 1731, it was ordered that all land in the province not laid to any other county, be annexed to Worcester county. It was then, and has been ever since, the largest county in the state, having an area of approximately 1500 square miles. The towns included in the new county were Worcester, Lancaster, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Southborough, Leicester, Rutland, and Lunenburg, all taken from the county of Middlesex; Mendon, Woodstock, Oxford, Sutton, including Hassanamisco, Uxbridge, and the land lately granted to several petitioners of Medfield,

taken from Suffolk; Brookfield, taken from the county of Hampshire, and the South Town, laid out to the Narragansett soldiers, also all the other lands lying within said townships, with the inhabitants thereof. The act was to become operative, July 10. Hassanamisco, referred to in the act, was an Indian reservation in the town of Sutton, which later became Grafton. South Town, or Narragansett No. 2, became Westminster.

We have noted the opposition raised to the organization of the county. It was indeed strenuous, and some of the interests opposing were powerful. Thomas Hutchinson, then a member of the General Court, later to be the last royal governor of the province, was bitter in his opposition. He urged the utter impossibility of its ever making any figure, believing that the "hill country" could never amount to anything. Nevertheless, by 1790 the polls of Worcester county exceeded those of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex. Only one county, Hampshire, numbered more, and Hampshire at that time included its own territory, and what are, today, Franklin and Hampden counties. Hampshire county had 13,912 polls in 1790, but Worcester had 13,762. In the same year the valuation of Worcester exceeded that of Hampshire, that of Middlesex, nearly equalled that of Essex, and was within a fourth of that of Suffolk. Many leaders in the General Assembly shared the views of Hutchinson. But, on the other hand, there were strong arguments in favor of the new county. Strongest of all was the greater ease of communication with a centre where the courts would sit, much less difficult to reach than Boston in Suffolk, Concord in Middlesex, or Springfield in Hampshire. And in those days of poor roads, communication was a powerful factor.

Worcester, then, became the shire town, chiefly because of its central location. At that time it was exceeded in wealth and population by Sutton, Mendon, Brookfield, and Lancaster. Lancaster was an ancient town; it was the centre of an extensive district which needed a convenient place for holding the courts and for the transaction of county business. If Lancaster had been chosen as the county seat, in all probability the towns of Ashby, Townsend, Shirley, Pepperell, Groton, and possibly others, would have been taken from Middlesex. Brookfield had small claim to be the county seat, since the western part of the county, north of it, was unsettled. Brookfield was, however, a flourishing town at

that time, exceeding Worcester in population. To accommodate the people in the southern part of the county, as well as those in the northern part, it was proposed to make both Lancaster and Worcester shire towns. The chances of Lancaster were, however, nullified through the opposition of Judge Joseph Wilder, one of its most famous sons, and his contention, that the influences attending a shire town were demoralizing was not without foundation. Horse racing through the public streets, gambling, betting, intoxication and drunken brawls, all attended the sittings of the courts, which always brought together, not only the assembled legal talent, but other elements much less desirable.

When the county was organized its courts came under the general judicial arrangement of the province. The General Court, or Provincial Government, was the supreme authority in all cases which did not infringe upon the jurisdiction of the mother country. In every town there were justices of the peace, and these officers, lineal descendants of the justices of the peace in England, were important and of real dignity. They had responsibility for the preservation of the peace, and they had wide powers, although they did not handle cases of great magnitude. The formation of the new county did not affect the status and duties of these officers, but it did bring them into new relations. They became an integral part of the lowest regular court of the county, the Court of General Sessions of the Peace. This court was composed of all the justices of the peace in the county, and was presided over by one or more of the four judges of the next higher court, the Superior Court of Common Pleas. The duties of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace were many and varied. It laid out highways, licensed houses of entertainment, admitted freemen, supervised the ministry of the churches, and saw to the adequate support of this ministry, supervised schools, and had probate jurisdiction. It had many other duties too, and all these routine functions were in addition to its regular judicial work, which included criminal cases, except those involving life, limb, and banishment.

The first session of this court was held as a court of probate, in the meeting house, July 3, 1731. Originally all probate business had been attended to by the General Court, but pressure of other duties compelled the General Court to delegate this line of activity to inferior courts, hence it came to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace.

Next above the Court of General Sessions came the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, also a County Court, composed of four judges, three constituting a quorum. This court heard appeals from the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and from its decisions appeal lay to the Superior Court of Judicature, which was a provincial court, holding annual sessions. It sat regularly in Worcester County in October, although its first session began September 22.

The Court of General Sessions of the Peace was an important, honorable, and valuable tribunal, although it occasionally received scant respect from the judges. It continued to function until 1803 when criminal matters were transferred from it to the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1807 the number of magistrates composing the court was reduced to six. The name "General" was dropped, and it was called the Court of Sessions. This court was abolished in 1809, all its functions being transferred to the Court of Common Pleas. But dissatisfaction arose at the change, and the Sessions Court was again set up in 1811, with four justices. This arrangement continued for two years but in 1828 the court was finally abolished.

The Inferior Court of Common Pleas, was a County Court, composed of four judges, three constituting a quorum. They heard appeals from the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, as has been noted, and appeals lay from their decisions to the Superior Court of Judicature. The Inferior Court of Common Pleas and the Court of General Sessions of the Peace held four sessions yearly, in May, August, November, and February. These two courts are often spoken of as one body and indeed at times they held simultaneous sessions. But they were distinct in their jurisdiction as well as in their personnel, except that the presiding judge of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace was always one of the judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. Both courts had power to summon grand and petit jurors, to choose clerks, and to perform other necessary offices. The Inferior Court of Common Pleas had more to do with civil actions. As we have said, it was given jurisdiction in criminal matters in 1803. This court ceased to exist in 1811, being succeeded by the Circuit Court of Common Pleas. When this court was instituted the state was divided into three circuits. In 1820 the circuits were abolished

and the judges, increased in number from four to seven, held court without reference to county lines. This arrangement terminated in 1859.

A word as to the other courts of the state. The Superior Court was established in 1859. Its jurisdiction was original and appellate in both civil and criminal matters, but many changes have been made in this court since its organization. The Supreme Court of the state had its origin in the Superior Court of Judicature, which was needed to complete the judicial system of the state. It dated from the earliest times; in 1780 it became known as the Supreme Judicial Court.

The Courts of Probate and Insolvency succeeded the Inferior Court of Common Pleas in exercising the functions indicated by its name. For years one of the judges in the latter court had served as Judge of Probate. In 1855 the Legislature created a Court of Insolvency, which began its work July 1, 1856. In 1858 this court became the Court of Probate and Insolvency.

The Central District Court of Worcester was constituted in 1872, and there are five other District Courts. These courts hold a position between the justices of the peace and the higher courts. They are a great aid to the latter in caring for judicial matters of minor importance.

One other legally constituted board deserves mention, the County Commissioners. The board of County Commissioners was organized to take over the duties of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace in relation to matters not judicial in their nature. All prudential and financial business is entrusted to it, such as, the construction and care of county buildings, courthouses, jails, roads, bridges, railway crossings, etc. As the counties have grown in wealth and population, the duties of the commissioners have broadened in scope and in importance, even though they have been relieved of much of the routine work formerly attended to by the Court of General Sessions of the Peace.

With the erection of the new county and with the organization of the judicial system in the county came the important question of accommodations for the courts and for the unfortunates upon whom their sentences were visited. In September, 1731, the Court of General Sessions of the Peace took steps looking to the building of a jail, or prison, with a house for the jailer. The building

was to be thirty-six feet long and seventeen feet wide with fourteen-foot posts. Later the plan was altered to provide for a building forty-one feet long and eighteen feet wide. The prison part was to be eighteen feet square. Until the erection of this building, prisoners sentenced by the Court of Sessions were confined in a part of Judge Jennison's house. This house stood near the court house. In February, 1732, the Court of General Sessions ordered that the cage, which had been used in connection with the prison part of Judge Jennison's house, "be removed to the chamber of the house of Deacon Heywood, innkeeper, and be the jail until the chamber of the house be suitably furnished for a jail." This inn stood where the Bay State House now stands. A regular jail was built in 1733, on the west side of Lincoln Street, some fifty rods northeast of the railroad station. It was, as has been noted, eighteen by forty-one feet, and served its purpose for twenty years. A new jail was built in 1753, thirty-eight by twenty-eight feet, with seven-foot studs. It stood further down the street than the other.

The close of the Revolution saw a great increase in the number of vagrants and malefactors, and larger jail accommodations were needed. Accordingly the Court of General Sessions provided, at the December term, 1784, for a stone building sixty-four by thirty-two feet, three stories high. It was located on the south side of Lincoln Square, near the corner of Summer Street. It was completed in September, 1788, and was considered, in design and construction, second only to King's Chapel in Boston. It seemed destined to last for all time, but new ideas as to prisons and prison methods caused the construction of a house of correction on Summer Street in 1819. In 1832 this structure was remodeled, and in 1835 arrangements were made to use part of this building as a jail. In that year, 1855, the splendid stone jail at Lincoln Square was taken down, and the stones were used in a new building on Front Street. The present ample building on Summer Street was brought to its modern form in 1873.

Fitchburg was made a half-shire town in 1856, and its jail was erected soon after that date.

A brief word as to the court house. As there was no court house in the county when it was formed in 1731, the first sessions of the two courts, the General Sessions of the Peace, and the Inferior

Court of the Common Pleas, were held in the old meeting house, which was the predecessor of the Old South Church that stood on the Common. This building was erected in 1719 and stood until 1763, when the last structure of the Old South Church on the Common was built. It was torn down in 1888. At the August term, 1732, of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, measures were taken for the erection of a court house. Judge Jennison gave the land, near the present court house, and the building was put up in 1733. It was thirty-six by twenty-six feet, with thirteen-foot posts. To build this court house the several towns in the county were taxed, and it is interesting to note that Lancaster paid a tax nearly twice as much as any other town and nearly three times as much as Worcester. Worcester paid twenty-two pounds, fifteen shillings, and four pence; Lancaster sixty-two pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight pence. Ever since that first court house, the location has been "Court Hill." It was opened February 8, 1734.

In 1751 a new building superseded this first one, somewhat larger, being forty by thirty-six feet. By 1801 the county had grown in wealth and population, and its court business had increased by leaps and bounds. In that year, three measures were taken which resulted in the erection of the brick court house, which, until 1899, stood next to the old Antiquarian Hall. It was forty-eight and one-half feet by fifty and one-half feet, with two stories, and high studded. It was opened for business September 27, 1803. In 1844-1845 this building was greatly enlarged, and this enlargement was needed in spite of the erection of the splendid new temple of justice in 1842-1847. Action was taken by the County Commissioners looking to this building, February, 1842, and the building was occupied in the summer of 1847. It stood on land formerly occupied by the dwelling of Isaiah Thomas, at that time moved to the rear. The new building was dedicated at the session of the Supreme Judicial Court, September 30, 1847, the dedication address being delivered by Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw. The building was of Quincy granite, and its six immense pillars, each twenty-five feet high, with base and capital measuring thirty feet, presented great difficulty in transportation. This building seemed destined to last for all time, but the growth of court business necessitated in 1899, the erection of the present structure in which the

granite temple of 1847 is incorporated. The brick court house of 1801, with its huge addition of 1844-1845, was torn down soon to make room for the new building.

For some time after Fitchburg was made a half-shire town, in 1856, the town, or city hall was occupied for the sessions of the courts. But shortly there was provided the present court house in that city.

Many attempts to divide the county have been made but all have failed. In 1734 Mendon petitioned the General Court for permission to join with Dedham and form a new county. The effort was unsuccessful. In 1753 the General Court passed an act providing that all lands within the Province adjoining the county of Worcester and not laid out to any other county "shall be and hereby are annexed to the county of Worcester." In 1763 it was proposed to form the northern townships into a new county; in 1781 another movement was begun to set off a new county with Petersham as its centre. A convention was held at Petersham in 1785; another in 1791, looking to the same result. A most determined effort was made in 1792 to set off a new county, extending from Ashburnham on the east, to Pelham and Shutesbury on the west, to include nineteen towns. Nothing came of this attempt, however. Nothing daunted, the advocates of separation tried again in 1794 also in 1796. At the time of this last attempt the argument was put forth that additional facilities for the courts were needed, and that an expensive addition to the court house in Worcester was planned. Worcester county would be spared this heavy burden if a new county, made up of the northern towns, were created. If this were done, the facilities at Worcester would be adequate for years to come, and the towns in the new county would cheerfully bear the expense of their new court buildings in the shire town that might be selected. But even this argument failed to carry the day; the old county stood, and the addition to the Worcester court house was built. In 1810 delegates from the northern towns met in Templeton and prepared a petition for a division of the county, which was presented to the General Court. The petition was denied. A plan was evolved in 1828, contemplating the formation of a new county, to include sixteen towns of Worcester county and five of Middlesex. This plan also failed.

The most determined effort of all was made in 1856. At that

time Senators were elected by counties at large. Dr. Jabez Fisher, of Fitchburg, a state senator, presented a petition on January 21, 1856, in behalf of Gilman Day and fifty others of Templeton, for the formation of a new county. The petition was referred to a joint committee of two senators and five representatives. At the hearings on the petition the case of the petitioners was presented by Rufus Choate, then at the height of his fame. The opponents of the measure introduced a counter bill providing for a new county but including in its limits a number of towns, a majority of whose voters were known to be strongly opposed to being set off from Worcester county. The special committee referred to above reported, with one dissenting vote, a bill for the establishment of a new county. The name suggested for this new county was "Washington," and it was to include Athol, Royalston, Petersham, Phillipston, Hubbardston, Gardner, Winchendon, Templeton, Westminster, Ashburnham, Princeton, Sterling, Leominster, Lunenburg, Harvard, Bolton, and Fitchburg, in Worcester county, and Ashby, Townsend, Groton, Pepperell, and Shirley, in Middlesex county. Fitchburg was to be the shire town, and was to pay \$25,000 toward the construction of county buildings. The bill came up in the Senate, May 16. An amendment was presented, referring the matter to the voters of the several towns included in the proposed county. The President of the senate was Hon. Elihu C. Baker, and he did not vote on the amendment, which was defeated, 18 to 17. A motion to pass the bill to a third reading was lost as President Baker voted against it, making a tie vote, 18 to 18.

On May 20, a bill was introduced providing for additional terms of court in Fitchburg. The bill did not pass at this session but it did at the following session. Fitchburg thus became a half-shire town and the county commissioners were authorized to erect a jail in Fitchburg, and to expend \$35,000 for that purpose. While the main object of the agitation for a new county was not gained, the movement did not fail entirely. And it may be said here that the strongest argument against forming a new county lay always in the reluctance of the Legislature to act against the will of the voters residing in the towns affected.

Another determined attempt to separate the northern towns was made in 1875 but it failed also. No doubt the question will be brought up in the future, and success to those desiring a division

will doubtless come. The towns in the northern part of the county are growing steadily in industrial importance, in wealth and in population, and a division, the formation of a new county, with Fitchburg as the county seat, seems by no means improbable.

By act of the Legislature effective August 1, 1884, two registries of deeds were established, one, as formerly, at Worcester, to be known henceforth as the southern, the other at Fitchburg, to be known as the northern. This act helped materially in solving the problems of court business, and the regular sittings of the Superior Court in Fitchburg as well as in Worcester, are an additional factor. Yet, possibly, these two steps toward division may ultimately lead to absolute separation.

The original townships in Worcester county have been many times subdivided and the county now consists of four cities, Worcester, Fitchburg, Leominster, and Gardner, and of 57 towns. In 1790 the population of the county was 13,762, in 1920 it was 455,135, in 1925 over 489,000.

In May, 1667, a committee was appointed by the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts to go to the district called, from the Great Pond, Quinsigamond, to investigate the district as a possible site for a settlement, and to report back to the General Court. This committee made its report October 20, 1668. It had found the district in question about 12 miles beyond Marlborough, near the road to Springfield, containing a tract of very good chestnut tree land, not much meadow land available, but probably enough meadow land for a small plantation or town of about thirty families, or, if the land already granted to Ensign Noyes, deceased, and his brethren, could be added, enough for sixty families.

When the agitation for the erection of a new county began, about 1730, to include the "hill country" lying to the westward of Marlborough, there had been bitter opposition, as we have noted. Thomas Hutchinson, then a member of the General Court, later the last royal governor, had strenuously opposed this new county, urging the utter impracticability of its ever making any figure, as the territory included in the new county was, with the exception of a few valleys, this hill country, which the opponents believed, could never be attractive to settlers.

I wonder, sometimes, what the grave members of that early committee would say, if they could return in this year of grace and

see the city of over 200,000 souls, who, somehow, manage to exist in a smaller territory than they had assigned to sixty families at most! I wonder, too, what Governor Hutchinson and his fellow opponents of the new county would say of the hill country today, that has been made so attractive as to stand fourth in population in the counties of the state, exceeded only by Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex, and yielding to Essex by a scant 7,000! The folly of one generation may be the wisdom of the next. In course of time, which works so many changes, two counties may be carved out of the one, and the division, so often planned and so often thwarted, may become a reality.

EARLY DOMESTIC SILVER

Read at Society Meeting, April 12, 1929 by
William H. Cunningham

Silver has had its place continuously in the domestic life of man since the earliest recorded history. Silver utensils were formerly the exclusive property of the wealthy who used them side by side with the commoner wares. The silver plate and the wooden trencher adorned the same board. The silver flagon passed above the salt held doubtless the same brew as the leather jack and horn that circulated at the other end of the table. Later silver and pewter stood for high life and low life, or for ceremonious and ordinary occasions. Its constant association with the ceremonious side of the life of the wealthy or ruling classes leaves a record in this metal of the best accepted taste of the past generations.

In those days of hand-work each artisan was an artist in that his products were a means of individual self expression, controlled in part by the dictates of fashion and in part by the personal taste of the purchaser who had ordered it. The early silver market was limited to the palace, the manor, the castle, and the church. Failure to satisfy and please the purchaser incurred penalties far more serious than the loss of a sale. The workman, therefore, put forth his best efforts not only to please a customer but to conciliate an influence which not infrequently had absolute control of his future destiny.

American silver derives its traditions from England. Colonists, who were members of the guild, came to this country not only with the trade practices, traditions, and tools they had used before emigrating but frequently with the actual maker's stamp they had used in England. The mark of Robert Sanderson of Boston, which appears on silver undoubtedly made in America, is registered at the Goldsmiths' Hall in London.

The art of silversmithing doubtless came into England through the monasteries. There is no evidence of its establishment in the Isles during the four centuries of the Roman occupation.

Prior to the Norman Conquest the work appears to have been confined to churches and the production of ecclesiastical silver. While it is reasonable to suppose that with the advent of William

the Conqueror came a higher standard of living and an increase in luxury, no English silver of this period has survived. It is true that goldsmiths were subject to enactments in the Thirteenth Century, but their output was probably confined entirely to royalty and to churches. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the laws referred to were made under royal influence not to protect the public but to protect the King, himself, from articles of inferior quality.

The reason for the absence of specimens of very early English silver is simple. There was very little raw material available. Silver has never been found in the earth of that Island in its free form. The few things that were made were undoubtedly melted and re-made into some new article to suit the changing taste.

As early as the reign of Edward I, in the year 1300, regulations were made as to the quality of silver from which articles could be manufactured. The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths of London were invested with the right of assaying, and every silver vessel made was to be assayed by the Wardens and marked with a Leopard's Head. This was the King's mark. In 1363, it was further enacted that, in addition to the King's mark should be put the mark of the goldsmith who made the article.

Very little English silver survives of a period earlier than the Sixteenth Century. It was the discovery of America with its deposits of free silver, and the capture by the English naval adventurers of Spanish ships laden with the precious metal, that inaugurated an era of plenty of silver in England.

There were three periods, however, when the visible supply of silver articles in England practically disappeared. The Wars of the Roses saw the conversion of the private plate of the nobles to provide funds for the financing of the rival aspirants of the Houses of York and Lancaster.

The Church had accumulated silver for centuries and this huge reservoir of ecclesiastical silver was tapped by Henry VIII after his rupture with the Church of Rome.

The Cromwellian Revolution was the third period. This, too, was a conversion of plate into funds and helped complete the disappearance of early silver. The wanton destruction by the Puritans of anything savoring of luxury helped still further to diminish the silver existing prior to the Restoration. With the Restoration, how-

ever, and the advent of Charles II, the activities of the silversmiths were resumed and since then have never ceased. Specimens of the art dating before Charles II are rare and the period which the most optimistic collector can hope to cover is practically limited to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, and the Nineteenth Century up to 1830, when the machine began to replace the old hand-workers.

While William Hogarth, who was born in 1697, is chiefly known for his contributions to the arts of painting and engraving, it is believed that he exerted a large influence on designs for silver. It is certain, at least, that in 1720 he was apprenticed to an English silversmith and was engaged in engraving silver plate, and it is probably more than a coincidence that during the Hogarthian period, 1720-1760, the most exquisite silver the world has ever seen was produced in enormous quantities. The geometric lines and angles of Queen Anne gave place to the Line of Beauty. In Hogarth's portrait of himself, which hangs in the National Gallery in London, there is drawn a pallette bearing a reverse curve upon which is printed the Line of Beauty.

The hall marks on old English silver are no longer a part of the mysteries of the Goldsmiths' Guild. The oldest mark is the Leopard's Head. It is still used and has appeared on London silver almost continuously for 600 years. It was originally the King's mark, stamped under his authority by the Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, upon silver articles which were of a standard quality as required by Law. Some two or three hundred years later the quality or sterling mark became the Lion Passant. By this time, however, the right of assay had been granted in other towns beside London. The Leopard's Head did not fall into disuse at the appearance of the new sterling mark, but became the distinguishing mark of London silver. These two marks were stamped at the Hall and with them was stamped a date letter. These date letters ran in series of twenty, beginning with "a" and ending with "u", the letter "j" being omitted. Five different styles of letters were used at different times: Black letter, Roman, Lombardic, Italic, and Court. Both capitals and small letters were used, and when repeated a slight difference was made in the shape of the shield in which the letter appeared. There was no duplication. There was a distinguishing feature for every

year. The date letter was changed in May of each year. Originally the change was made on May 19, St. Dunstan's Day. St. Dunstan, a silversmith himself before he became a monk, was the patron saint of the goldsmiths. Since 1660, the change has been made on May 30.

These three marks, as has been said, were placed upon the piece by the Wardens of the Hall, after making the necessary tests of the fineness of the silver. The silversmith, himself, stamped upon it the fourth, his own personal distinguishing mark. The earliest of the makers used a symbol, frequently heraldric. Later an initial, or the initials of the first and last names, sometimes woven into a monogram, appeared. In 1697, a new law compelled him to use the first two letters of his last name as a mark. In 1720, the old system of marking came in again. During this same period, 1697-1720, the standard of quality of silver was raised and London silver of that date bears the figure of Britannia and a Lion's Head erased, instead of the Leopard's Head and the Lion Passant. The reasons for this change in silver standard are not without their points of interest.

Up to this time, the same standard for the silver used by the goldsmiths and the silver used in coins had been maintained. The tremendous demand for silver articles, however, had practically depleted the silver coinage of the realm. In order to retain at least pin money in the kingdom, the goldsmiths were thereupon required to use in their articles silver of a higher standard than that used in coinage.

From 1784 to 1890 an additional mark appears, the duty mark. This was the Sovereign's Head and was placed upon the piece at the collection of the silver tax imposed by the government. These five marks, four prior to 1787, are the distinguishing marks of English silver.

In giving this outline of English marks, I have described those of the London office which produced about 90 per cent of the silver now in existence. There were about a dozen other towns which had the right of assay with their own distinguishing marks for the town and, in many cases, their own quality or sterling mark. Edinburgh, for instance, used a Castle and a Thistle in place of the Leopard's Head and the Lion Passant, while Chester retained the Lion Passant with its own hall device of three Sheaves of Wheat with a dagger.

There was practically no recognition of American silver as such until 1906. Previously the heirlooms in this metal had been regarded as of English manufacture, if found in New England, and of Dutch in New York. In that year, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts held an exhibition of American silver which was a revelation of the unsuspected quantity of such treasures held by New England families. Subsequent exhibitions held in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia have added to the knowledge of the subject.

The first recorded silversmith to locate in America was probably Thomas Howard of Jamestown. His name is entered in the register of the Virginia Company in 1620. It is doubtful, however, if he was a practical worker in the metal. It is much more likely that he was like the silversmiths of 1608 mentioned by Captain John Smith as employed for the purpose of finding gold in Virginia.

Authorities seem to differ as to the first silversmith in New England. Some give Robert Sanderson and some John Hull. There is probably but little difference in the dates of their arrival in Boston. These two men were partners and their respective marks appear side by side upon the same piece. Hull was the first mint master of Boston and struck the pine tree shilling. Individual works by Sanderson and Hull survive, and the Second Church of Dorchester has a caudle cup by the partners.

About 150 names of silversmiths are recorded in Boston before 1800. Besides Sanderson and Hull are included such names as John Allen; John Burt and his three sons, Benjamin, Samuel and William; John Coburn; John Coney; William Cowell; John Dixwell; Jeremiah Dummer, apprentice of John Hull; John Edwards and his three sons, Joseph, Samuel and Thomas; William Homes; the Hurd family; Knight Leverett; John Noyes; the Reveres, father and son; William Simkins; Andrew Tyler and Edward Winslow.

Of these, the most prolific was Jacob Hurd, 1702-58, and the most conspicuous was Paul Revere, the younger, whose name became famous because it was easier to rhyme than Dawes.

Silver was also wrought in nine other places in Massachusetts. Salem as a center of wealth furnished employment for a number of silversmiths, and in Newburyport the art was carried on by the family of Moultons, who covered a period of from 1638 well into the Nineteenth Century. This family included six Williams and three Josephs, and offers endless possibilities for confusion in the marks.

Worcester has seven silversmiths recorded: Daniel Gookin, born 1682, was apprenticed to Jeremiah Dummer in 1696. Gookin was the first sheriff of Worcester and, I fear, found very little time to ply the trade of silversmithing. So far as I know, there are none of his works in existence. William Swan, 1715-1774, is perhaps the best known of the Worcester silversmiths. That he had the respect of his fellow citizens is borne out by the fact, mentioned in *Lincoln's History*, that in 1770 he was, by vote, asked to sit in the elders' seat in the old church and assist in leading the singing. The Worcester Art Museum has a cann made by him, and there is a covered cup at the Essex Institute in Salem. Besides these there were Henry P. Sweetser, 1768; James Boutelle, 1787; Robert Swain, 1775; Thomas Lynde, 1760; and Geer Terry of 1775-1858.

The Society has in its custody a set of six teaspoons and one small odd spoon, marked Terry. These teaspoons probably date about 1805 and the odd spoon earlier than that.

Eighty silversmiths are registered in New York prior to the Revolution. Names of Dutch derivation predominate. Among them are a Roosevelt and a Bogardus. There are also Huguenot names, including that of Goelet. Philadelphia has its list, as have practically all of the earlier settlements along the Atlantic Coast.

Lists of the early silversmiths are available at the Library and at the Art Museum. Howard Pitcher Oakie, about a year ago, published a volume entitled "Old Silver and Old Sheffield Plate," which contains about 13,000 marks, including not only the most complete list of American silversmiths yet published, but tables of the English, Irish, and Scotch marks, and many from the Continent.

Early American Silver can be approximately dated by identifying the mark. This can be done from the above lists, for the majority of silver made before 1830. The lists give in some cases the dates of birth and death of the silversmith, sometimes a date at which he was known to work, but nearly always some identifying date which places the period of the article.

The marks on American silver do not establish the date with the same precision as English hall marks. On English silver are found four or five marks. On American silver there is usually but one, the maker's mark. There is no date letter, and no recognized quality mark prior to 1837. The duty mark, which places an English piece within a certain reign, was not introduced until after

the Colonies had ceased to be under English control, and is entirely absent in America. There is nothing but the maker's mark, and our ability to fix a date for American silver depends entirely upon our knowledge of the maker.

In some cases the maker used different marks at different periods of his life, and frequently a close approximation of the date can be made by observing the particular characteristics of the mark used. On the other hand there are cases in which the son, succeeding to his father's business, inherited his father's stamps as well and used them without change. In some cases the business history of the silversmith is an aid.

Rufus Farnham worked in Boston in 1800. In 1807 he formed a partnership with another member of his family. Pieces marked *R. Farnham* were made in the first seven years of the Nineteenth Century. After that the mark was changed to *R. & N. Farnham*. Some silversmiths used the same mark during a long life without change. Ordinarily the mark of the American maker is the last name in full, sometimes preceded by the first initial. Frequently the mark consists of the initials of the maker. While sometimes incised, that is the letters stamped into the metal, as a general thing the surrounding metal is depressed leaving the letters standing out in an oval or rectangular container or a cartouche. As a rule the earlier marks are more ornate. The cartouche is more common and frequently elaborate shields are found. There are also more frequent embellishments in the form of heraldic devices.

In identifying American marks care should be taken to note the form of letters and the form of the enclosure.

The word "Sterling", which appears on the present American silver, is of comparative recent use as a mark, dating from about 1857. The word, itself, had been used as descriptive of the quality of silver for several centuries before and was probably derived from the name Esterlings ((Easterlings), who were in the middle ages celebrated for the fine quality of their silver products. Except in the case of Irish silver, this word was not used as a mark until 1857. For twenty years prior to this, or from 1837, the word "Coin" silver was used to designate the quality. Sometimes for this word was substituted the letter "D" for dollar.

The earliest domestic table utensil was the knife. It undoubtedly preceded the table, itself. In those earlier days, however, it was

not limited to table use, as the same utensil that was used to dispatch the deer carved the diner's portion of venison. It played a general utility part in war, sport, and feasting, and was of sterner stuff than silver, which was associated with it as a decoration only.

The spoon, however, was an early companion to the knife and is the earliest example of flat silver which can be found today. The original spoon was a stick with a cleft at one end into which was inserted a shell, and it is remarkable how closely the earliest silver spoons known follow the original pattern. The handle is nothing more or less than a silver stick, sometimes round, sometimes octagonal, with a decorative finial at one end, and the bowl of the spoon at the other. The bowl, itself, described as fig-shaped, is much like a scallop shell in its general contours.

The finial or Knop was the subject of the decorations of these times. Some were simple cones or geometrical figures, some seal-like designs and some elaborately carved figures of human lions or heads.

The apostle spoons were of this type and a complete set consisted of fourteen spoons: the master spoon, twelve apostles and St. Paul. The apostle spoons were a most popular pattern and were made for some 500 years. A complete set of an early date is one of the dreams of every collector. Very few have realized the dream but I believe a complete set was sold in London in 1903 for a little under \$25,000.

About the time of the Restoration, the spoon handle began to be flattened slightly, not very wide as yet but a distinct departure from the original round or hexagonal form. Under the Puritan influence a plain severe pattern came, in which the sole decoration consisted of a beveled edge. The flattening and widening of the handle continued until by the Eighteenth Century spoon handles had approached the modern shape. They were notched early in that century with two notches, and in the last half of the century the handles were finished in a point. About 1775 it was fashionable to decorate the handle of the spoon with chasing.

About 1800 the coffin handle, so called, came in. In this style the pointed or rounded end of the spoon handle was replaced by a straight cut across the end of the handle and a clipping of the corners, making a kind of half hexagon, not unlike the shape of the early coffins. This was followed about 1810 by the fiddle-back

handle which continued until the end of the period of hand-wrought silver.

From 1660 to 1740, a period of eighty years, the rat tail was a common attribute of spoons. This was a ridge running down the back of the bowl from the handle to the tip of the bowl. It was designed to strengthen the union of the handle to the bowl and also to prevent wear on the latter. It was succeeded by the drop, a little tongue of silver running down from the handle onto the bowl to strengthen the joint. Drops are found on spoons up to about 1820 but are seldom, if ever, seen after that. During this time the shape of the bowls changed gradually from the fig-shape of the 1600's to the perfect oval of the 1700's. The oval shaped bowl is held as the highest type artistically but as fashion changed it became egg shaped and grew more and more pointed. As a general rule the more pointed the bowl of the spoon the later its date.

Coffee spoons may be found in the Eighteenth Century silver.

Forks are quite a modern innovation, coming into use in the Eighteenth Century. They were used in Italy and France before they found their way into England. An early English traveller in Italy was much impressed by the use of forks which brought to him the realization that all of the hands dipped into the common dish of food upon the table were not of equal cleanliness. While making a distinct appeal to the fastidious, their adoption by the common people was less enthusiastic. Upon the return of John Adams from a mission to England, his wife brought some silver forks which were placed upon the Adams' table. This so severely disturbed his plain living neighbors, who still clung to the simpler and more primitive fashion, that our Statesman had some little difficulty in living down the reputation he thus acquired for luxurious fastidiousness.

The early forks were of two tines, set somewhat far apart, and were limited in their efficiency in an attack upon a plate of the famous Boston Baked Beans. It was not without design that the knives of that period were constructed with a blade nearly twice as wide at the end as at any other point. The two-tined forks were followed by the three-tined and later by the four-tined. Silver forks were not unknown in America in Revolutionary times, but they were not commonly made here until after 1800. The handles

of the forks followed very closely the fashions in the handles of contemporary spoons.

Sugar tongs were used in pre-Revolutionary times. The earliest form was a scissor-like tong, replaced later by the bow shaped.

Salts are found dating back to very early times and in some cases are very ornate. In fact, there is very little silverware used upon our table today the counterpart of which cannot be found in silver of the Eighteenth Century or before. Even grape scissors and asparagus tongs were known and used and the tea ball goes back to Queen Anne or earlier. Very few of these utensils are such that they look out of place upon a modern table. Our table utensils have changed but little in the century and a half since the Revolution, but I trust that in the use of them there has been improvement.

I have tried to give you tonight a very brief historical review of the last six hundred years of the silversmith and his works. I have tried to point out the possibilities of the identification of the makers of early American silver and the means of determining not only the date but the locality in which the piece was made.

There are but few families in which there are not some treasured pieces of silver, and if I have suggested to you a means of increasing your knowledge about your own heirlooms, or put you in the way of substantiating some of the legends which have grown up around them, my hope is that you will find in your investigations one half the pleasure I have found in my own.

April 12, 1929.

WILLIAM H. CUNNINGHAM

A BRIEF SKETCH OF WILLIAM FITZHALE ABBOT

Read at a Meeting of the Society, June 12, 1923

In Amos VII, eighth verse we read, "And the Lord said unto me, 'Amos, what seest thou?' and I said, 'a plumbline.'" In Isaiah XXVI, third verse we read, "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee, because he trusteth in Thee." These two verses from the Old Testament are the epitome of the life we are asked to consider in a brief sketch tonight. The plumbline of sincerity, truth, justice—the perfect faith which could trust where it could not see the way.

William Fitzhale Abbot was born in Temple Place, Boston, April 27, 1853, the youngest son of Joseph Hale and Fanny Ellingwood (Larcom) Abbot. He was eighth in descent from George Abbot of Andover, immigrant about 1640, his later ancestors settling in Wilton, New Hampshire, where his kindred still occupy Abbot Hill. Joseph Hale Abbot, his father, was a teacher greatly revered and beloved. He conducted a private school for young ladies in Boston for many years, and his lectures on a wide range of scientific and other subjects were much in demand. He was the father of the following children: Henry Larcom, graduate of West Point, 1854, General in the Engineer Corps U. S. A., joint author with General Humphreys in 1861 of the remarkable report on the Mississippi River, member of the Panama Canal Commission and author of "The Panama Canal"; Edwin Hale, Harvard, 1855, lawyer; Francis Ellingwood, philosopher, editor, and teacher, author of "The Syllogistic Philosophy"; Emily Frances, who married Abiel Abbot Vaughan; Edward Stanley, Harvard, 1864, killed at Gettysburg; and William Fitzhale, Harvard, 1874.

The family removed from Boston to Beverley, where William lived through boyhood until he went to Cambridge to attend the Cambridge Latin School. Here, and in part under his father's tutelage, he fitted for Harvard College, which he entered in the fall of 1870. His close friend and classmate, writing of college days, says: "Billy Abbot was one of the remarkable men of our class. He was however little known outside of his immediate circle, for he was inclined to remain modestly in the background, a keenly interested observer, leaving to others the active participa-

tion in our class affairs. His rank in scholarship was very high, but he was never a grind. While he attended regularly and faithfully to all his college courses, he was already the genial philosopher, enjoying in rational satisfaction each college day as it came, intent upon missing no single unreproved pleasure that the Harvard life could yield. No one of us all was more intensely devoted than he to the class and to all its interests, and his attachment increased as the after years sped by." He was a member of the Pi Eta and Phi Beta Kappa Societies.

After graduation he taught for two years in Noble's Private School for Boys in Boston, and then for three years was associate principal of the Sewall and Abbot Classical School in Indianapolis, with his friend and classmate, Theodore Lovett Sewall, whose sister he afterward married. In 1880 he accepted a position in the Worcester High School, and ten years later became the head of the Classical Department, retaining this position until his death, in a continuous service of almost forty-one years. On December 28, 1882, he married Caroline Ward Sewall. They had four sons and one daughter: Edmund Quincy, Hale Wellington, Larecom (who died in infancy), Miriam and Theodore Sewall. On Thursday, April 20, 1922, he worked as usual in school; listened in the evening to an hour's reading of "Henry Lee Higginson's Life and Letters"; performed his usual nightly round of home duties exactly as he did on every other night; and while asleep received the call to higher service.

Mr. Abbot was a member of the American Philological Association; the Classical Association of New England, of which he had been president; the National Education Association; the Harvard Teachers' Association; the Worcester Teachers' Association, of which he was a member of the Executive Board; the Public Education Association; the High School Masters' Club, and the Greek and Latin Clubs of which he was the founder. In addition to these societies, directly connected with his work as a teacher, he belonged to the New England Historic Genealogical Society as a life member; to the Sons of the Revolution; the Massachusetts Civic League; the Worcester Historical Society, of which he was vice-president; the Worcester Harvard Club, in which he was the chairman of the scholarship committee; the Shakespeare Club; the Bohemian Club; the Walking Club, which he helped to organize, and other congenial associations.

He was especially interested even from boyhood in all things historical and genealogical, acquiring the taste naturally from his mother who possessed it in a remarkable degree. The article which she wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly* of August, 1871, about her father's—Captain Larcom's—shipwreck on a merchant vessel in 1810, giving her recollections at the time as a child of three, attracted wide attention. The son accompanied the mother on many trips to the country and farms where the forefathers had wrenched a living from the unwilling soil, and helped to lay the foundations of New England's sturdy history. On the first page of a college notebook, dated March 10, 1873, we find written:

"This book, purchased for notes upon Prof. Trowbridge's lectures on optics, is now devoted to a nobler object, viz: Recollections of the ancestors of William F. Abbot." He goes on to write down such facts as he has been able to glean up to that time.

Later, it was his happiest avocation to pursue this and allied fields of information. He filled several ancestral tablets with the records of his own and his wife's family. All was done with that accuracy and thoroughness which characterized him through life. His children are linked with New England history in its most virile form. We find among their ancestors on one side of the house the names of Hale, Dane, Larcom, Conant, Ellingwood, Woodberry, and Balch, and on the other side Sewall, Quincy, Wendell, Hull, Ward, Henchman and Gookin.

Besides the ancestral tablets which occupied much of his spare time for many years, he compiled the genealogy of the Larcom family, which was published in the Essex Institute Historical Collections for January and April, 1922. Among his papers we find the following data:

Much material about his maternal grandfather, Captain Henry Larcom and the seafaring industry of New England in the palmy days of the merchant marine, together with one or more logs kept by his grandfather on his voyages.

Sketch of his paternal great-grandfather, Abiel Abbot of Wilton.

Blueprint map of Colonial Beverley, sent him by Dr. G. B. Balch of New York, who thanks him for his assistance thereon.

Sketch of a Massachusetts slave, about which he says: that inasmuch as there has not been a great deal of information preserved along this line, it may be worth while to write down such facts as he possesses.

Letter from Registrar of the Society of Colonial Wars, making note of Mr. Abbot's corrections and additions to some data.

Much correspondence with historical societies, state libraries, individuals, etc., and many records of visits to courthouses and registries of deeds, looking up old wills and deeds.

Book of memoranda devoted to his father and his ancestors.

Scrap-book devoted to data about his father's work, writings and lectures.

Book of historic and genealogical data about the Wilton Abbots.

Book of old clippings about Old Andover, records of birth, deaths and marriages from the Andover *Townsman*, 1888-89.

Scrap-book devoted to Beverley, past and present.

Material about Ipswich.

Material about Nathan Dane the lawyer, and Nathan Hale the martyr spy, both collaterally related.

Material about Dummer and Phillips Exeter Academies, and Bowdoin College, and about the towns of Beverley, Wilton, and Dunbarton, N. H.

The great epic of New England was perhaps next to his teaching, his most absorbing interest in life. He carried on a good deal of original investigation, and had it not been for trouble with his eyes, would doubtless have done far more. He was naturally drawn in particular to the obscure naval and seafaring history of Massachusetts, in which some of his ancestors had played their part. If he had been spared for a few years of leisure, he would have been able as he hoped to put more of his hard-earned material into permanent form. His love of the beauty of New England scenery led him, with his family, to spend his vacations among the hills and mountains of New England. Here long walks and mountain climbs with map and spyglass were a chief recreation and delight.

His interest in this Society was marked and constant. As secretary for several years and vice-president for many more, he gave continually of his time, sound judgment and wise counsel to its meetings. He also made frequent contributions to the collections of pamphlets and papers which he thought would be of value. At the time of the society's recent reorganization (of its quarters) he was much concerned for the permanent safety of the collections.

These interests however, though absorbing ones, were sidelines.

His main work was that of a teacher. His best memorial is written deep in the lives of his pupils and friends. A former pupil, now a college professor, writes: "When he taught, the glory of Greece and Rome shone like a star in the dark." And a recent student says: "No one of us could come in contact with Mr. Abbot without feeling the inspiration that radiated from his supremely unselfish life." A valued friend speaks of "The thousands of boys and girls—who in his classroom learned the lessons of goodness, beauty and truth." Another friend writes: "Few men that I have known have deserved so fully the title of good and faithful servant, the highest I think, that a man can receive."

Still another close friend says: "How I had learned to warm myself in the genial spirit that always passed from his heart to others," and another old pupil writes, "Since 1884 I have looked upon him as a part of my life. He will continue to help me."

"He will continue to help me," what better summing up of his life could we have than this testimony of a strong man, himself a leader and inspirer of youth!

We are blessed with rich and happy memories, and can say, as many have said, that our lives are sweeter and cheerier, and more fruitful, for having known him.

MRS. W. F. ABBOT

MATTHEW JOHN WHITTALL

Read before the Society, June 12, 1923

It is now over six months since my father, Matthew John Whittall, died in his eightieth year. In many ways, it seems much longer than that—in some ways, much shorter, and then there are times and circumstances which almost make me feel that he is still with us. In many ways, he has left an indelible mark which will always recall him to us vividly and with pride and affection.

His personality and character were very unusual. I do not recall his ever having done anything spectacular or startling; he would far rather have accomplished the same result in some other way which would have attracted less attention. As a rule, no one ever knew that M. J. Whittall had done something until the results began to assert themselves. On the other hand, he was by no means secretive nor disinclined to talk things over with those who were near to him. But he preferred listening to talking. He was very deliberate and thoughtful, and having once made up his mind what course to follow, he pursued it with the utmost courage and tenacity and to a finish either one way or the other. Nothing ever over-awed him because of its mere size, or by the same token, nothing failed to interest him because of its littleness. The biggest and most powerful merchants could not swerve him from his convictions and principles. Many times he refused to weave his carpets to their standards. This perhaps lost him some dollars but it won for him sincere friendships, loyalty and respect. He was particularly fond of the small dealers—"the little fellows" as he called them. Time and again I have known him to extend credit which he could not possibly justify except with his great faith in human nature. He used to say "Somebody has got to help them or they'll never get started—and it might as well be me." Rarely if ever did he misjudge character or honesty.

There never was a man who sought to avoid personal prominence more than did my father, and yet his personality invariably asserted itself wherever he might be. Naturally I saw him in almost every sort of surroundings. To me he was always the same whether he was talking with a group of youngsters at the Boys' Club or advising with prominent statesmen or executives. So also was he

in his daily work. He took a genuine and whole-hearted interest in even the smallest details and problems of his mills. His employees were made to feel this interest and did not hesitate to come to him for counsel and advice, and sometimes on matters which the average busy man would have brushed hurriedly aside and perhaps impatiently.

Father had a great capacity for work and enjoyed it thoroughly. His nature was democratic and he loved simplicity. His business surroundings show this markedly. He had no use for formality or the pretense of brass buttons. He had a rare combination of practical and executive ability. He had never allowed his business to grow too fast to permit him to follow all its details. He had no desire to amass a fortune or to own a large mill. His looms increased in number as his products earned added recognition, and the demand for them became greater. He had very fixed ideas of how large a carpet mill could be and still have the personal attention to details that are an essential part of Whittall quality. There were times when he could readily have sold the output of twice and even three times as many looms and was often urged to enlarge his plant. His reply was very typical of his character, for he said: "I started out with sixteen looms, and have always been happy and prosperous and have had all that any man could ask for. I don't need any more."

I do not think he ever fully realized how large his mills really were or how prominent his fabrics were in the carpet world. I believe this was one of the reasons why he always kept young and well. He thought in standards of quality and not yards of production. Added looms meant to him only doing the same thing just so many times more. He knew that as long as that same thing continued to be done in the same or a better way, the question of volume would take care of itself. A million pounds of wool or a ton of dyestuff meant no more to him than a bale or a pound had meant to him in his early days. It was then that he established his own standards of quality and his own methods, and to these he adhered rigidly. The integrity of his products was to him an obligation second only to his religion.

I do want to mention his great love for flowers. I truly believe that if he had ever been called upon to choose between a coat of paint or a garden for his home that he would have chosen the

garden. He was continually adding to his greenhouses and beautifying the grounds of Juniper Hall at Shrewsbury. Only a short time before his death, he remarked: "I don't suppose I'll get these gardens finished to suit me for the next ten years." This shows also how he continually planned and lived in the future. A very impressive incident happened during our labor troubles. We were able to find employment for but a very limited number, but these few planned a rather unique surprise for him. He had been away on a trip to the coast. The morning he came home they were all in his private office to greet him. Over his desk they had built a bower and covered it with simple, informal flowers. It was a Saturday and before he went home at noontime he had the bower put on a truck and carried to Shrewsbury so that he might enjoy the blossoms over Sunday. The roses and less perishable flowers he took to the hospitals and to the church.

Aside from his carpet mills, my father had many business activities which were widely diversified and in which he took a keen interest. These he enjoyed thoroughly. This is especially true of the three terms during which he was a member of the Governor's Council. This work he took very seriously but also derived from it a great deal of relaxation. He used to drive back and forth from Boston every week generally alone, and oftentimes it meant a long day of work. I recall distinctly one reception of the Governor which we both attended. It was late when we left and started for Worcester and later still when we reached Shrewsbury. It must have been close to three o'clock when he went to bed. The next morning he was at his desk as usual shortly after eight o'clock, and when he noticed that I had not come in, he remarked: "I don't suppose Percy will get in early this morning 'cause I kept him out late last night." I cite this little incident just to show his wonderful physical endurance. On several occasions I have known him to play thirty-six holes of golf in a day and he played far from leisurely. His game was better than mine and he took a very kindly pleasure in winning from me. He thoroughly enjoyed playing with my boys, and one of our family events was a sort of yearly match between my son, Jim, and his grandfather. A few years ago, the boy finally won and when they came home together it is a question which was the more proud. And so I could go on, recalling one incident after another, one characteristic remark after

another, one and another kindly and thoughtful act. It is these which we, who knew him closely, recollect and live with from day to day.

My father built up a wonderful and prosperous business. But far more wonderful was his personal reputation for integrity and fair dealing. To uphold and maintain the standards of business and quality which he established for his mills is a very exacting heritage—one of the most sacred, most pleasurable trusts that a father could impress on those who come after him. His mills were an international institution; his fabrics are known wherever carpets are made; he gave to the carpet industry of the world new standards of quality, and these he left to them as an inheritance which will never die.

The last year of my father's life was particularly active. It seems almost as if a kind Providence had planned out a cycle of events with which to round out his declining years. In the spring, he spent four months in Europe and went to many places which he had longed to see. He visited his birthplace, Kidderminster, on the moors in England, and was present at the dedication of the Whittall Chapel of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, which he had attended in his boyhood. He never forsook his birthplace for his adopted country, and had there a wide circle of friends, some of whom had worked with him in the carpet mills over sixty years ago. The day he returned here to his mills, the employees gave him almost an ovation. At the gates, they met him in a body and with an enthusiastic and heartfelt welcome which he never forgot.

It was but shortly after this that he went to Cleveland to receive his thirty-third degree in Masonry. This he appreciated profoundly. He was not a man to seek or court recognition and yet he was very grateful to have this honor bestowed on him. His ring on that occasion was given to him by the late John Wanamaker who as soon as he heard that this degree was anticipated asked that he might have the pleasure of giving him that ring. They had been lifelong friends and held each other in deep regard and respect. I recollect the fiftieth anniversary of my father's business life in Worcester. The retail dealers throughout this country gave him a beautiful golden tablet in recognition of his fifty years of accomplishment in the carpet industry. John Wanamaker had planned to make the presentation but his health did not permit

it. And so the next morning my father, as proud and joyous as a boy with a new pair of skates, took the tablet over to Philadelphia to show it to Mr. Wanamaker. Their's was a deep and genuine friendship such as he had also enjoyed with the late Marshall Field of Chicago.

His visit to Cleveland was his last trip far from home. He was rather disappointed on that occasion as he wanted to drive there over the road but could not find anyone equally enthusiastic about such a long trip. He remarked one day, "I suppose those old fellows think the drive is too far." Somewhat later when he purposed to go to Toronto to play golf in the Canadian Carpet Association tournament, he determined to take his deferred long motor trip, and he and I were to have started out for there on Sunday, September the twenty-fourth of last year. This trip, however, was not to be for on that day he was stricken with what proved to be his last illness. The day before marked the close of his business life as he never returned to the mills. He left them presumably in the prime of health, and thus it is that he is remembered. Those who had worked with him for many years will recollect him just as they saw him on Saturday, September twenty-third, 1922, at the Whittall Field. He said that day was the happiest of his life. There were gathered together on that occasion over six thousand of his employees and their families and friends. He saw them again united after the labor troubles of a year before, and he realized then that the misunderstanding which should never have existed, had been forgotten. He was happy in the thought that the mill employees had made a glorious holiday of that day in order to celebrate the twenty-first birthday of his grandson, Matthew Whitin Whittall, who is my son. To my father, this was a most wonderful day, he came early and stayed late. It seemed almost as if he was trying to welcome each one personally. I can see him now, toward the close of the day, standing on the platform, his heart too full of gratitude for utterance. They were presenting to his grandson a most beautiful silver loving cup. And I can go back still farther and see him likewise on a similar occasion, years ago, when they gave me a cup on my twenty-first birthday—happy and delighted in the knowledge of someone else's pleasure.

I have not recounted the incidents of my father's business life. They are more or less familiar to the people of Worcester, and have been set forth carefully in the press from time to time. I anticipated that you would prefer a talk of a little more personal nature and have tried to limit myself accordingly.

M. P. WHITTALL

SARAH BENNETT HOPKINS

AN APPRECIATION

Read before the Worcester Historical Society By
Mrs. Chetwood Smith, November 9, 1928

Sarah Bennett Hopkins was born in Ware, Massachusetts, January 17, 1860, and died in Worcester, March 30, 1928.

Coming to Worcester in early childhood, Miss Hopkins spent practically her entire life here. Her family's position speedily became important in social, professional, intellectual, and philanthropic circles. Miss Hopkins was therefore placed in situations where her talents had full scope.

In early girlhood she was confirmed in the Episcopal Church, and was ever thereafter a devoted member of its Communion. She chose as her particular Church work, the Girls' Friendly Society, and for thirty-six years spent her time and energies unsparingly for its service. She held various offices in the organization. She was the first President of the Girls' Friendly Society for the Diocese of Western Massachusetts, and became Vice-president of the First Province; and Chairman of the Washington National Center Committee. But it was not only in these executive positions that Miss Hopkins excelled. In personal relationship with the young women of its wide membership, she was extraordinary. They went to her in sorrow, and in joy, sure of her understanding heart; her clear sense; her aristocratic viewpoint.

It was singularly appropriate that Sarah Hopkins should have been so affiliated with the Girls' *Friendly*, because she was pre-eminently that thing—which is far rarer than we are wont to suppose—a *friend*. Towards the making of this characteristic, she had, among other qualities, two in particular. First of these: she began where she left off. If Miss Hopkins had not seen you for even a year or more, you knew at once by her cheerful, quiet greeting, that she had carried you if not actually in her thoughts, then in her heart, all the time. In the second place, being a quite unselfconscious person, she took it for granted that you were as single-minded in the loyalty of friendship as she was herself. She brought out the best in people, because she, quite simply, expected it.

Her sense of humor was delightful. Those of us who have worked with her on committees know how often, when to others matters seemed annoying, or dreary, Sarah Hopkins saw the funny side and saved the situation. To the feeblest joke, proffered in good-fellowship, she paid the instant tribute of her high, beautiful laughter. Her voice in speaking was not only charmingly modulated, but had a quality of cheer.

Miss Hopkins was always much interested in private theatricals. She had a keen sense for dramatic values and for the balance of stage settings, and had made a careful study of the subject. Therefore, besides often acting or reading herself in different representations, she was famous as a coach and manager. Many plays and public readings gotten up for charity owed much of their success to her knowledge and skill. Notably among these, "The Dream of Shakespeare's Women," given under the auspices of the Shakespeare Club, the proceeds of which went to Memorial Hospital and "The Piper," the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin, by Josephine Preston Peabody, for the same worthy object.

She was an important member of the Shakespeare Club for many years, and was one of the best, if not *the* best, woman reader it has ever had.

To enumerate all the clubs and societies to which Miss Hopkins belonged, does not come within the scope of this paper. But we may mention her nearly twenty years service in the Public Education Association.

And of course her membership in the Worcester Historical Society. She was interested in its best and widest development.

We are New England men and women, who in this beloved society of ours are striving not only to preserve historical antiquities, but also to perpetuate the spirit of our ancestors. An old writer has said: "If any man make Religion as eleven, and the world as twelve, such a one hath not the spirit of a true New Englandman." We can pay no better tribute to Sarah Bennett Hopkins, in missing her, than to remember that she saw always Religion in the white light of high noon.

JOSEPH JACKSON

Prepared and Presented by Zelotes Wood Coombs at the meeting
of the Worcester Historical Society, October 10, 1924

Joseph Jackson was born in Lancashire, England, November 6, 1847, the son of Joseph and Mary (Wood) Jackson. With his parents he came to this country at an early age, and settled in Lonsdale, R. I., where his boyhood was spent. He appreciated the value of a good education, when he was very young, and, preparing for Brown University, he graduated from that institution in the class of 1868. He took up teaching as his lifework, and was successively, principal of the high schools of Derby, Vt., Gardner, Mass., and Millbury, Mass. In 1883 he came to Worcester as principal of Woodland Street School, and from there, in 1901, was called to the principalship of the English High School in Worcester. He served in this position until 1914, when the English High School became the High School of Commerce. Mr. Jackson carried out the exacting work of organizing this new school, and acted as its principal until 1916, when he resigned his position and retired from active service in the school system of the city, largely owing to failing health. He died January 9, 1924, in Leicester, where he had made his residence since September, 1922.

Mr. Jackson was a charter member of St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Worcester, and was its Treasurer from its foundation, in 1887. He held this office until the day of his death, and on that day, which was the day of the annual meeting of the Parish, he was to have received his thirty-seventh election as Treasurer. Mr. Jackson was a member of Montacute Lodge, A. F. & A. M., of Worcester, serving for many years as its Chaplain. He was also a member of Eureka Royal Arch Chapter, Hiram Council, Royal and Select Masters. He was a charter member of the Economic Club, and was its Treasurer for some years after its organization. He was a member of the Bohemians, and a life member of the Appalachian Mountain Club, also of the Worcester Historical Society he had been a member for years. As might be expected he was an active member of many organizations having to do with the teaching profession, and gave many papers and addresses before these organizations. Among them may be mentioned the Massa-

chusetts Schoolmasters' Club, the Worcester Teachers' Association, and many others.

Mr. Jackson was an expert botanist, ranking among the very best in this part of the country. He published several works on botany, which are authorities. Among these may be mentioned: "Through Glade and Mead," a Contribution to local Natural History; "A catalogue of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Worcester County"; "A Catalogue of Phaenogamous and Cryptogamous Plants of Worcester County, Massachusetts"; and "The Flora of Worcester County." He was honored by being made a charter member of the Sullivant-Moss Society of New York.

Mr. Jackson was a thorough classical scholar, but he had specialized in the teaching of mathematics and had published several textbooks in that subject. Besides his skill in botany and his specialization in mathematics he kept up to the last his fondness for the classics; he was too, a wide reader and possessed an unusual acquaintance with general literary topics. His library teemed with works of general literary interest, and he was constantly adding new works as they came out. Mr. Jackson married July 29, 1870, Mary Colwell, (Caldwell) of Providence, R. I. Two daughters, Alice M. and Florence E. Jackson, survive him. Joseph Jackson has left on his thousands of pupils and his numerous friends, here and elsewhere, a profound impression. His life was an inspiration. Few men have realized more fully their opportunities, and have endeavored to profit by them. Genial, courteous, kindly, ever ready to help, he was known personally to a very wide circle, and those who knew him loved and esteemed him. Of wide scholarship and profound learning, such as books can give, he enjoyed far above all books the intercourse and companionship of his fellowmen and of Nature. It was an education to talk with him in his library, his books about him; it was a revelation to walk with him through fields and woods, to learn Nature's secrets through his eyes and his conversation. He was interested in all that concerned his fellow men, his city, literature, art, the discoveries of science, education, religion. His passing has taken from among us a good and kindly man, a most worthy citizen. But his life will be a pleasant memory and an inspiration to all who knew him or who came under his influence.

“THE TWIN SAXES”

Read before the Society, January 10, 1930

The proverb says, in sombre tone,
“Misfortunes seldom come alone”;
But then, to recompense our cares,
Blessings sometimes are sent in pairs;
Thus where a single babe was due,
The grateful father welcomes *two*;
God bless them; in this world of trouble
May both find all their blessings double,
And, to the joy of sire and mother,
Each prove an honor to his brother.

December 4, 1863

Jno G. Saxe

(*The above is a true copy from the original.*)

This poem accompanied a congratulatory letter from John G. Saxe to his brother Charles and his wife on the birth of the “Twin Saxes.”

“The Twin Saxes”—James and John, were born in Troy, N. Y., on the 2nd day of December, 1863.

James devoted himself, during his early days at school and college, to athletics, but spent enough time on his books to pass his examinations.

John devoted himself to his books, and was an honor student from the beginning.

Both boys were musical. James had a good voice and played the violin. John played the flute remarkably well.

They both entered Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Mass., in 1879, when they were fifteen years old and where they prepared for Wesleyan University. They matriculated at the University in 1881 and graduated in 1885, when twenty-one, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts. James was an honor athlete and John was an honor student. Both were members of the Z chapter of Psi Upsilon. After a year’s travel in the West, and another year in Europe, they entered the senior year at Harvard College, being credited the first three years on their diploma from Wesleyan. They graduated with the Class of 1888, Bachelors of Arts, and attending also the

Commencement at Wesleyan for their triennial, they were given their Master of Arts degrees.

James spent the following year in Germany studying music, voice and violin, especially.

John spent the year in a law office in Troy, N. Y., and attended the Albany Law School.

The following summer they spent walking in Switzerland and decided to graduate from the Harvard Law School and be admitted to the Massachusetts Bar.

James spent the following year at the Harvard Law School, while John studied at the Albany Law School and read law in the same law office in Troy, N. Y. At the end of the year he received his Bachelor of Laws degree from Albany and was admitted to the New York Bar. The following year he was admitted to the second year law at the Harvard Law School on examination, and both boys graduated therefrom in 1892, Bachelors of Law, John an honor man, and were admitted to the Massachusetts Bar.

In 1890 the family had moved from Troy, N. Y., to Brookline, Mass., and occupied Grandfather Griggs' homestead.

James married immediately after being admitted to the Bar, and spent the year in Europe with his wife.

John entered the office of a well-known law firm in Boston, and the following year, on James' return from Europe, they opened their office in Boston, as Saxe and Saxe.

A Harvard classmate, who was at the head of the Massachusetts Title Insurance Co., made James their head examiner in the Middlesex Registry, and two years later the State sent him to Worcester, Mass., for special work. There he founded the Worcester County Abstract Co., which has proved a successful venture.

John married at 35 and had a charming home and successful office practice, being admitted to practice before the State and Federal Courts. His daughter graduated from Radcliffe College, an honor student in Art. His son, John, graduated from Harvard, an honor student in electrical engineering.

His son, James, graduated from the Connecticut Agricultural School and is now a realtor in Santa Barbara, California.

John's wife died and John came to Worcester as Attorney for the Worcester County Abstract Co., and lived for a time with James. For the last ten years he lived at what he called his

“country estate,” the Worcester Country Club, an unusually beautiful estate. There he died on the night of the 24th of March, 1929. He had made his best score at golf that day, but probably over exerted himself,—went to sleep smiling and did not wake up. Could one desire a better going out to the “great adventure”?

He ever “proved an honor to his brother.”

He is buried in the family lot at Oakwood Cemetery at Troy, New York.

James still “carries on.” He spends the summers at Worcester, Mass., and his winters at the Isle of Pines, Cuba, as his wife cannot stand the New England winters.

JAMES A. SAXE

SOCIETY NOTES

The succession of Special Exhibits from month to month has proved an interesting feature of our recent work. In part these have been loan collections, but chiefly re-arrangements from our permanent Museum. Memorials of Lincoln; Living Conditions in Colonial Worcester; The Tools, Process and Product of Worcester Wood Engravers; Historic Dolls; Our Washingtoniana,—such have been a few of the topics that in this way have been brought to the particular attention of our many visitors.

An efficient committee of women have brought together as a most attractive section of our Museum a choice collection of Woman's Costumes out of successive periods of New England life. Many of these have much historical significance, and all are examples of artistic design and fine workmanship. They are arranged in specially made cases in the rear of Salisbury Hall.

Begin as a feature for the Tercentenary Year, the weekly "Jottings" for the new and useful little periodical, "This Week in Worcester," have been regularly continued. This constant medium of communication between our own institution and the citizen public seems worth keeping up, though at the cost of continuous care and steady effort from the limited number of contributors. An occasional word shows that these brief tabloids of local history are being read with interest by many people.

Appreciation is here expressed of the many and often valuable gifts to library and museum and endowment funds, gifts too numerous and varied for individual mention here, though duly recognized in accession books. To collect all possible historical material somewhere is the obvious duty of some institution in these days when family attics are no more. "To conserve is to construct."

One of the privileges of an institution like ours is to furnish incentive for study and for the careful expression of thought through language. This we accomplish to some extent through our regular monthly meetings, the papers for which are uniformly prepared by our own members, and to a good extent from the resources of our own collections. Our historical materials are also sought by students who are preparing reports or theses, or books for publication.

During the Tercentenary Year work for and with school groups

was one of the important features of our activity. A short talk to and with the class, assembled in Salisbury Hall with pictures and examples from the museum immediately in hand, was followed by a conducted tour over the three floors of the museum building. Doubtless this form of educational work will be continued from time to time, but our best opportunity is with the many individual visitors, young and old, from Worcester and from far afield. Our collections are now so well organized, classified, and labeled that to some extent they teach their own lesson.

The rapidly growing opportunity and responsibility of our Society emphasizes still further the need of additional floor-space for our work. The unoccupied back lot provided by Mr. Salisbury's foresight, extending through to Tuckerman Street, suggests the possibility of a fire-proof annex to our present building, unchanged in any particular since its erection forty years ago. This obvious need itself suggests the limited resources of this venerable and important member of Worcester's group of institutions. A more generous support and especially adequate endowment would make possible a public service that at present we are hampered in rendering because of limited income.

U. WALDO CUTLER



The
Worcester Historical Society
Publications

New Series
Vol. 1, No. 5

April, 1932

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DANIEL HENCHMAN, THE FOUNDER OF WORCESTER

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Mrs. Harriette M. Forbes, May 8, 1931

There was a very distinguished hunting party in 1485, when Henry the VII and his nobles for a long day chased the wild buffalo. Among the huntsmen was a young man named Crosborough, who kept constantly at the king's side. When the chase was over, Henry turned to him and said, "Crosborough, thou art a veritable henchman," and thereupon the young gallant begged the favor of being permitted to assume that name. The coat-of-arms granted to him has on a silver shield three royal lions rampant, and three black bugle horns, and the crest is a buffalo's head. The motto "Pro amore Dei,"—For the Love of God.

Some member of the family brought these arms to Massachusetts in the seventeenth century, for in 1697 they are used on a paper appointing Hannah (Felton) Endicott guardian of her three children. The descendants of Daniel Henchman of Worcester also have in their possession today a very old illuminated copy of the same. But Daniel Henchman himself came to our shores with no blasts of bugle horns or display of nobility.

As we read the story of how Worcester came into being two centuries and a half ago, it seems as if he, more than any other, is entitled to the honor of being called our Founder, a story which has often been told. We have read many times of the grants accorded by the General Court to those whom they wished to reward, in the heart of the wilderness, and how, finally, in 1664 these grantees got together and petitioned the Court for a committee to view the country, with the end that they might determine whether it were a meet place for a plantation. This committee, or rather its successor, report in 1668, recommending that a prudent and able committee be appointed and empowered "to lay out a town, to admit inhabitants, and order the affairs of the place, in forming the town granting lots and directing and ordering all matters of a prudential nature, until the place be settled."

The report was approved and the committee appointed: Capt. Daniel Gookin, Capt. Thomas Prentice, Mr. Daniel Henchman, soon to be a captain, and Lieutenant Richard Beers. For six years this

committee struggled with earlier grants and claims, and it was not until July 13, 1674, that a deed was finally procured from the Indian proprietors, and the transaction concluded by paying to the Indians two coats and four yards of trucking cloth, valued at six shillings. About thirty-three lots were laid out, including one of twenty-five acres, to Capt. Daniel Henchman, bounding south on the common road and southwest by Ephraim Curtis. The common road being our present Lincoln St., and the land in part that which for so many years was called the Henchman Farm, later to be the homestead of Gov. Levi Lincoln. Some houses were built and some brave souls dared to occupy them, but the new village of Quinsigamond was short-lived, and in the summer of 1675, after having been abandoned by its few inhabitants, was totally destroyed by the followers of King Philip. Only the land was left.

From the records relating to this first attempt to make a town near Quinsigamond, it is impossible to tell how the work was divided among the members of the committee. They were all men of energy and splendid achievement. But when seven years later they were called upon again to take up the work as founders of a new town, there is no doubt as to which one of their number bore the burden almost alone. If it had not been for the courage and determination of Daniel Henchman, the work previously done would have been lost, and the grant forfeited to the state. Some time a town might have been founded near here, but it would not have been Worcester. When the General Court served notice on the committee that measures must be taken to re-settle, or the land would be forfeited, Capt. Henchman drew up what he calls an agreement between the committee on one hand and "Captaine Daniel Henchman and his co-partners on the other." This is dated April 24, 1684, and it is significant that he refers to the proposed plantation as "Quinsikamon (allius Worster)" six months before the name Worcester was officially given. This agreement lays down detailed plans for arranging the new town, stipulating however that no one should be admitted as an inhabitant "without being certified by the said Henchman or his assignees that they have performed according as obliged."

Undoubtedly he followed the suggestions which Gookin and he had laid down previously as a model for the town: a place where they would be secure from their enemies, where they would attend

the worship of God, educate their children in society, establish trades, have better helps to civility and convenient help in time of sickness, fire, or other calamity. In other words, where they could get away from the frivolities and temptations of the metropolis, the little Boston of that day.

With this vision before his eyes he left Boston with his family, and Sewall writes in his Commonplace Book: "This 23 of April (1683) Capt. Daniel Henchman sets out from Marlborough towards Quinsickamond with his pack Horses in order to settling a Plantation there. Went to Cambridge on Friday, by reason of the Rain lay there, and so on to Marlborough on Saturday." The twenty-third that year fell on a Monday.

Probably Henchman had already built a house in Worcester in which he could make his family comfortable.

From this time on, he led a busy life. We have already seen that no new inhabitant was admitted without his approval, no lot was sold except by him, he received all moneys, he also had to settle all disputes, unless indeed they were carried into Court, and according to his own testimony, he sometimes had the town "buzzing about his ears." When in April of 1684, the committee still consisting of Gookin, Henchman, and Prentice, applied to the Middlesex Court for an order requiring the people living here "to meet together on the Lord's Day to worship God," the Court passed such an order ending with the words: "And Capt. Daniel Henchman is required and authorized by this court to take special care to prevent the profanation of the Sabbath day by neglect thereof."

There was one more thing which about this time someone did for the little settlement at Quinsigamond, and as Daniel Henchman apparently was the one master of ceremonies it is fair to presume that he also brought this about,—he gave the new village a name. Gookin's latest biographer says "so far as is known Daniel Gookin had no personal associations with the English city of Worcester," and Prentice's share of work on the committee seems at this time to have been limited to signing his name to the infrequent reports. But when we consider a little later the English family of Henchman we may get a gleam of light.

Reading thus far in the *History of Worcester* we pause a moment to wonder who this Daniel Henchman was and whence he came.

There are many short sketches of him, all beginning with the state-

ment that he came to Boston in 1666, and was hired as assistant master or usher in the old Latin school on School St. Where he came from, his age and condition in life are not stated. The writer of each sketch usually adds the fact that he was related to Judge Sewall, and he may say as does Mr. Nutt, also to "Gookin, to the Hulls, Quincy's, Eliots and other prominent families of the province."

His relationship to Sewall is inferred from a short description in Sewall's diary of the funeral of the little Anna Quincy, aged thirteen years, such an inconspicuous member of the family that her name appears in no genealogy, and this account of her funeral may be the only mention of her, and yet by some queer twist of fate it is her little stone with two others that is builded into the solid masonry of the New Old South in Boston, where thousands of passersby may read its inscription. It was a modest little procession of "relations" that followed her small coffin, walking two and two, Uncle and Aunt Quincy, her parents, Ephraim Savage, a brother-in-law with her sister Ruth, Experience, another sister, aged nine, led by Capt. John Hull, Judge Sewall himself with his wife Hannah, and bringing up the rear Cousin Henchman and Pounden, an untraced relative. It is quite clear from this that cousin Henchman was a relative of the Quincy's, and when we remember that Aunt Quincy was Joanna Flynt, granddaughter of the Joanna Henchman who married Charles Hoar, we begin to suspect where the relationship came in. Daniel Henchman was also associated in many ways with her son Leonard Hoar, the president of Harvard College, whose house lot in Worcester adjoined his. He was called to his bedside to witness his will made a few weeks before his death on November 28, 1675, and was the witness who appeared in Court when it was proved. He may have been a son of a brother of Joanna Henchman Hoar, so own cousin of Pres. Leonard. He probably was of the same generation. When he bought his first lot of land in 1669, all the witnesses to the transaction were of the Quincy family, John Hull, Jeremiah Dummer, and Daniel Quincy. There seems no doubt that Daniel Henchman was a close relative, probably brother or cousin, of the equally important Capt. Thomas Henchman of Chelmsford, who was called by Gookin, "a person of quality." Thomas was the son of Edmond who settled as early as 1653 in Plymouth County, near the place where Joanna Henchman Hoar

had already made her home with her five children. We know she had brothers: Thomas, Walter, William, and Edward. Could Edward have been a mistaken reading for Edmond?

William Henchman also lived for a while in Boston but for most of his life in Marshfield—probably a son of Edmond, but possibly a brother. When in 1653, Daniel Hoar, Joanna Henchman's son, had occasion to give a power-of-attorney to his brother John, Edmond Henchman, who was living at that time in Marshfield, was visiting in Boston and signs as witness. Unless a relative or close friend it is not likely that he would have been available.

It must be possible to trace Daniel Henchman's English ancestry, and yet apparently it has not been done. The name is unusual and when we try to locate any members of the family we find they moved in a very narrow circle of Christian names. Wherever they lived there were sure to be some named Thomas, Richard, and William, with a large number of them vicars. One, a Humphrey, became Bishop of London, but he was son and grandson of a Thomas, and they, like most of those who have been traced, came originally from Northamptonshire. Joanna, the ancestress of the Hoar family, was living in Gloucester, after her marriage, but her family were probably from Barton-Segrave in Northamptonshire. Gloucester is on the Severn and not many miles away is Worcester. It is not surprising that some of these Thomases and Richards followed the river up to Worcester, and we find in the probate records of that city a Thomas Henchman who died in 1602, and seven years later a widow Mary; in 1609 a William, and in 1639 a Richard, they all having lived in All Saints' parish. Daniel Henchman named his oldest son Richard and he named his plantation Worcester.

That he came to Boston by way of Ireland we glean from the records of the First Church. A child of his born a few months after his appointment as schoolmaster was baptized on June 9, 1666, as "daughter of Mrs. Henchman of the church at Dublin in Ireland." She was Sarah Woodward, before her marriage, daughter of the Rev. Hezekiah Woodward, who is said to have been that Vicar of Bray who was hero of the very popular ballad of his day—"I am the Vicar of Bray, Sir." He had two daughters, Frances, described as "a religious virgin," who had married Rev. John Oxenbridge, afterwards of Boston, and Sarah who was the wife of Daniel Henchman. From the will of John Oxenbridge, who by the way de-

scribes himself as "a sorry man, lesse than the least of all the servants of Christ, am ye most weake and worthlesse creature," we learn that this sorry man had various silver vessels inscribed with his arms, and at least one "wraught plate with my and her mother's arms" was left to his daughter Theodora, and the mother's arms were without much doubt those of the Rev. Hezekiah Woodward, the grandfather of the Henchman children. Oxenbridge also left a ring to Mr. Daniel Henchman and another to his eldest daughter. The Rev. Woodward in his will made in 1674 devises, "To my most dear and beloved grandchild, Theodora Oxenbridge" and "to the five children of my daughter Sarah Henchman deceased by Daniel Henchman of Boston in New England." To these latter he left £20 apiece and "all my land and tenements in the County of Ireland;" the fact that Mrs. Henchman's father owned lands in Ireland may account for the residence there of the Henchmans for a short time.

The five children were Hannah, Richard, Hezekiah, named for the celebrated Vicar, Nathaniel, and Susanna, a child of seven years when the grandfather's will was made. Anne, a sister of Daniel Henchman, a young woman about ten years older than his oldest child completed the family. We do not know the date of the death of his wife Sarah, but on April 26, 1672, he married Mary Pole, the daughter of William of Dorchester, whose brick tomb with its modest coat-of-arms still carries the epitaph which he wrote for it, "that he might warn posterity:"

"Ho, passenger, 'tis worth thy paines to stay
And take a dead man's lesson by the way
I was what now thou art and thou shalt be
What I am now odds twixt me and thee
Now go thy way but stay take one word more
Thy staff for aught thou knowest stands next ye dore
Death is ye dore—yea dore of heaven or hell
Be warned, be armed—believe—repent—farewell."

William Pole for many years had been a schoolmaster, he and his sister Elizabeth were among those who had left high station and comfortable living in England to do their share in building up a new Commonwealth, dedicated to holiness and the service of God. They were the children of Sir William Pole of Devonshire, and his

wife, Katharine Popham, a sister of Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice of England. So Daniel's second wife came of a family using coat armor and greatly distinguished in the history of England.

As we have only dry records to guide us, we do not know why Daniel Henchman did not continue as usher at the Boston Latin School. But at a meeting held on the twenty-second of December, 1670, Mr. Cheever was appointed Headmaster and Mr. Thomson was asked to be his assistant. A year later the town voted Capt. Henchman "a year's salary after he left the Free School" and "Ten pounds over and above his gratuity from the town for not having sufficient warning to provide otherwise for himself."

It seems however that he had already provided for himself in a measure, for in a deed dated in 1669 he appears as Daniel Henchman, merchant. He went into partnership with one Joseph Rock, and laid out five hundred pounds in stock, buying "stockins, hopps, apparel for negroes, fustian, nails, &c." Two years later he finds himself in a very unpleasant situation. The house in which he lived seems to have been either owned or rented by Joseph Rock; the shop may have been on the ground floor of this building. It was near the center of the town, well-placed for trade, yet comfortable for home life, with a well in the yard and a pasture behind, where his cows grazed contentedly in calm bovine friendship with the cows of Mr. Rock. Few years had passed since Winthrop had founded the Bay Colony on the lofty principle of love to each other and to God, even at that very time a new church, now called the Old South, was springing into being, and Joseph Rock was one of its founders and wrote his name assenting to its high confession of faith, yet he tried to defraud his inexperienced partner not only of the five hundred pounds which he had contributed to the outfit, but even of the milk from his own cows, and water from the well. Henchman took the case into court in 1672, and various affidavits make us wonder how much was natural depravity in this Old South Church founder and how much exceedingly bad manners. Henchman's daughter Hannah told how the Rock servant milked her father's cows and sent them "a pot of somilk" the next morning, how that "all the doors were locked and the bunches of keys carried away . . . soe that one night my father was locked out of doors," and to add the last straw of insult, how they were "denied water at

the pump and Mrs. Rock in a foul manner calling out to me said, Hannah, here's is water to wash yo pots in, pointing to that she had rinsed her cloaths in, but I replied not, being charged by my father to keep quiet, whatever affronts were offered."

We get the crux of the whole matter in a deposition from a neighbor who says that "Henchman intended to set upon baking and brewing," so becoming a formidable rival to Rock, who was himself both baker and brewer.

Henchman won his suit and Joseph Rock, after paying the five hundred pounds and costs, slips out of this history although still honored and trusted in the Old South Church, honored at the funeral of Gov. Leverett, where he was one of four to carry banners, and especially honored by Madam Danforth, who a few years later became his second wife. She was daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston, and widow of the equally honored Master Samuel Danforth of Roxbury.

Henchman with the five hundred pounds returned to him embarks again as a merchant, and during the fifteen years of life left to him he follows that trade with more or less help from his sons. He joins the Old South Church, the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, and takes his place in the required military drills and other performances of the day.

It was at this period of his life that he became interested in making a new plantation in the wilderness, but almost coincident with this venture he bought and sold many tracts of land in Boston, most of them at the North End. One of these was at the very tip of the North End peninsula. On the southern part of it he built a house which he named River House, situated as it was, just where the Mystic and the Charles meet the sea. This was before 1672 when the Selectmen granted him liberty "to erect a porch before his door." It was probably built about the time that he separated from Joseph Rock. In the settlement of the estate of John Hull there is mentioned a small tenement on Cotton Hill formerly leased by Daniel Henchman. By modern nomenclature this would be near Pember-ton Square, only a few doors away from the home of his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Oxenbridge. He may have lived there for a short time or he may have leased it for his store. In either case it was his name that gave it distinction.

Among other sales made by him of lots from his North End pur-

chases, was one to his unplaced relative, Capt. Thomas Henchman of Chelmsford, where the latter's sister Margaret lived the rest of her life, with her husband, Charles Hopkins, her four daughters, and her son. This lot adjoined that which Henchman chose for his own home, a fact which strengthens the probability that Margaret was also a near relative of his own. Her husband met with a tragic death, which is recorded in the diary of Lawrence Hammond. He writes on July 25, 1691: "One Richard Lilly comes in from the Westindies in one Robunson the day before, being handing small arms into Charles Hopkins' boat at Boston to be carried ashore, took one gun and holding the muzzle tow'd Hopkins said, old man here's a gun for you and immediately the gun fired and shot the said Hopkins into ye body whereof he presently dyd." A short time afterwards Lillie was adjudged "guilty of manslaughter by Misadventure" and was sentenced to pay a fee of five pounds and twenty pounds to Margaret, the widow of said Charles Hopkins.

The part of Henchman's life which has been the most carefully described is his military career. Like all the men of his day he had been a member of the local training company but it was not until war clouds appeared on the horizon that the General Court took notice of him, and on June 24, 1675, he was "chosen and voted to goe forth as Captain of a Hundred men for the service of this Colony on ye design to go to Plymouth Colony," and at the same time another founder of Worcester, Thomas Prentice, was appointed Captain of the Horse.

Towards evening two days later these two companies marched out of Boston. Just before they reached the Neponset River the moon commenced to be eclipsed, and to many of them this was of ill omen, and they racked their memories to see what dark fate would befall them when such a serious undertaking was begun under the influence of Capricornus. Nothing however happened and when the moon shone clear and round again they went on their way. Later, in writing of the event, Cotton Mather dug up an old Latin joke which is just what we would expect of him, "that there was more cause to be afraid of Sagittarius than of Capricornus."

The history of King Philip's War has been carefully written and Henchman's part therein. It was a war of skirmishes, ambuscades, and misunderstandings. Whether Henchman's Company of deacons' sons, the flower of Boston, acquitted themselves more

worthily than Mosely's pardoned pirates is doubtful. One of Henchman's letters written from Mendon and describing an attack made by him on a group of Indians in Grafton seems typical of the war. He is giving a report to the Council and writes:

"Mendon Nov. 10, '75.

Honor'd Gentlemen,

This last night, in the close of it, I marched to Hassamamesett with twenty-two men mounted; believing that some of the enemy were there, discovered their fire, dismounted and marched to it in two files, headed the right myself the other led by my lieutenant (Zekill Curtis) but as we hasted to it, their dogg gave them an alarum when wee were in less than musket shot; we stopped a little and moved againe but the dogg increased his barking and lest they might draw into the thicket to fire on us I ordered som to fire, hallowed and ran as fast as we could. my Lt. first got to the wigwam and received a mortal shot at the dore; I hasted to round them in getting close beyond it expecting my men had followed: but all that both of us had was not above five men, one of them my corporal (Abiel Lamb) whose strength outstrips me and by reason of a fall I had in my running on; one soilder more was wounded and fell; his name (Thomas Andrews) who cried out exceedingly disheartening them with me at the wigwam, together with no more coming up to us, I called upon my men to fall on and shute into the wigwam. which no more doing, them up with me fell off: I cryed of them for the Lord's sake to stay, for in retreating as we did I gave up myself and them with me for lost, and it was a peculiar Mercie we were not all slaine, for the Indians issued out and fired on us; the Marlboro man shot but not dangerous, one of my old soldiers, as I think, kept with me, (Jonathan Dunning) and a horse: so soon as mounted I would have had my men ride up and fire to get off the wounded and secure the reare but were upon flight tho I threatened to run them through but availed not: some few horse kept with me and by my oft running back in hopes to save all I could, discovered two on foot that say they had also been lost: at our return we find only the two first wanting. And although this is a sad frown for I had as likely to fight as ever here, yet the enemy escaped not for three of them at least were slain without, besides their wounded and slane as well might be in the wigwam. They soon hallooed and we

drew off our horse and by their shout seemed about fifty and the wigwam seemed to be thronged full, and a second halloo soone followed some judge from a second party for two other fires were seen at a distance. If a body of them draw this way the Town may be in distress for divers times I have put them to several things needful and will assist with my men : I hope they will now bestirr themselves. My Lt. is a great loss to me and have not to supply the place. I cannot inlarg but beggin a sanctified use of this and former frowns, for we might and had an opportunity to cill all the wigwam off.

i rest, Hon'd Gentlemen

Yr. Humble servant

D. Henchman."

Henchman is still known among his descendants as the Indian Fighter, and yet as we chance here and there on some incident in his life, it seems as if a more appropriate designation for him might be the Indian's Friend. Like Gookin he looked upon them as men and brethren, but, as we see from his letter, when enemies they were to be killed, like all enemies. There is an affidavit of his in regard to the so-called praying Indians which says:

"Thes may certifie that I, Daniel Henchman of Boston being appointed and authorized by the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, not only to look unto and order the praying Indians for some part of the time that they were confined to Deer Island; but likewise to have the command of several of them as soldiers, both at Mount Hope, in the beginning of the war 1675; and also in another expedition, May and June 1676, when I had the command of the English of forces at Weshakum, Mendon and Hadley; in all which time I had experience of the sobriety, courage and fidelity of the generality of these Indians. And this I do testifie under my hand, and could say much more on their behalf, if time and opportunity permitted.

Dated at Boston this 19th day of November 1677

D. Henchman."

There was in him a love of peace, a trait which made him forbid his daughter to answer the taunts of Mrs. Joseph Rock, and which perhaps influenced his judgment at a Court Martial held at Hadley in 1676 where, after listening to the charges against the "Sudbury

Captive Boy" about his inclination to run to the enemy, he found "no real ground of such a charge." And afterwards those who "had him in custody knoc't off his irons and sent him home with the army to go to his Master," and this judgment was signed

"D. Henchman,
Comdr. in Chief."

What would have been the fate of this Indian boy, had the commander-in-chief seen in him only a child of hell, as did so many of his followers?

The war was practically ended when Philip died August 12, 1676, but there were many details to be arranged. In less than two weeks came the selling of the Indian captives. Henchman invested two pounds and ten shillings in a "squawe and infant" while his gay fellow captain, Samuel Mosely, bought recklessly and found himself relinquishing twenty-six pounds to the Massachusetts Colony, and he the owner of one boy and a girl, thirteen squaws and papooses, some wounded or sick. John Hull was the treasurer of the Colony and he "laboured under the weight of this account with his own hand until weakness of body and ye bulke thereof necessitated him to take in Capt. Daniel Henchman to his assistance."

Undoubtedly Henchman was good in mathematics. We have already seen that he was the one member of the Worcester Committee who kept all the accounts in "his book" and handled all the money. But these undertakings were small compared with his most daring flight in finance. He established and carried on without much help from others the first bank in New England. Its first bills were issued in 1681, and the next year came an explanatory pamphlet published under the name of "Severals relating to the Fund." The bank itself was called The Fund, and according to Mr. McFarland Davis it was really a bank of credit, in which the Fundors could adjust debts among themselves. There were at least three trustees, Hezekiah Usher, John Walley, and Adam Winthrop. But Daniel Henchman was director—in other words the first bank treasurer of New England. This was thirteen years before the Bank of England was established.

In addition to his other duties he found time and had the ability to act sometimes as lawyer. In 1670 he was guardian of some children in Boston, whose inheritance to the property of their mother's

brother was in dispute. The brother's only child had died but his wife was still living and the question was: who were his heirs? The matter was brought by Capt. Henchman before the Court of Assistants and there he pleaded the case himself, saying the next-of-kin shall inherit, as these children were, "beside," he added, "our first law saith where there is no express law the word of God shall determine and that Numbers 27, 11 passeth the Inheritance to the Father's kindred"—this verse reads "And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall possess it." This argument seemed good to the Court and the children of Eliphalet Hitt thereafter possessed this property.

Among the books which Daniel Henchman left at his death was a great Bible worth eight shillings. That he studied it faithfully we know, not only from his use of it in this law suit but from the fact that he was often called upon to have charge of the private meetings held by members of the Old South Church, when Sewall records that he handled the subjects well.

With his life as a merchant, a brewer, a real estate promoter, a banker and a lawyer, he also added, as did most of the people of that day, the duties of a small farmer. We get a glimpse of his forethought in the tradition that he planted the Boston Elm for the purpose of giving shade to the future military companies that should train upon the Common. It has been said that this tree was older than his day, but Edward H. Savage in his book, *Boston Watch and Police*, copies an affidavit made by the widow of Gov. Hancock, which seems to settle the question. This says:

"Mrs. Hancock, the wife of Thomas Hancock who was uncle of the Governor, has often told me that her grandfather, Hezekiah Henchman, when a boy, transported the Great Elm from the North-end to where it now stands. Mrs. Hancock has often pointed at the old tree and spoken of the circumstances and it was a matter of notoriety in our family." This Mrs. Hancock was Lydia, the daughter of the third Daniel Henchman. Among the hundred portraits in the wonderful Loan exhibition at the Boston Art Museum last summer, there was none which held you by sheer personality as the one painted by Copley of Lydia Henchman Hancock. We are sure that whatever she told Dorothy Hancock about the planting of the Elm would be just as she remembered it. The father Daniel

would without doubt help his young son Hezekiah to dig up a likely tree from his field on Charter St. and settle it in its new home.

In all these various activities of Henchman's life we get no clue to his age. We only know that his oldest child, Hannah, was born about 1652, and if he were twenty-two at that time he would himself have been born in 1630. At the youngest possible age he would have been a man of fifty-three when he "parted from Boston" as Sewall says and definitely made his home in Worcester. At that time, in 1683, Hannah was probably married to William Sumner of Middletown, Conn. Among her children she had a Daniel, a Sarah, and a Hezekiah, and probably has many descendants today. The oldest son Richard was twenty-eight, just the age of Judge Sewall, who had always a warm friendship for him. Perhaps he was less aggressive than his brothers and perhaps more lovable. He promptly deeded his share of his father's Worcester property to his nephews and died himself in 1724, without children leaving all his worldly possessions to his wife. I know of only two memorials of him, the Latin verses now in the Boston Public Library which he used to write to Sewall, some of which the latter once acknowledged with faint praise: "Sir, I send home your verses with Thanks. There are many good strokes in them, but in my mind the English excell;" and the stone still bearing witness to his memory on Copp's Hill.

Hezekiah may have come to Worcester with his parents. He was the father of Daniel who eventually owned most of the Henchman Farm and who built the house about 1741, which afterwards became the property of John Hancock and Gov. Levi Lincoln, a house which we all remember as standing on Grove St. until it was taken down a year ago. I do not know that the early history of this house has ever been written. From the time it was built, soon after 1741 until 1782, there are forty years absolutely unaccounted for. When the third Daniel Henchman died in 1761 he left it to his only child Lydia and her husband, Thomas Hancock. They in turn to their nephew John Hancock, and in the deed of 1782, from John Hancock to Levi Lincoln, we get the only bit of authentic history of the house since its building forty-one years before, where the premises are described as the home farm "which was improved the last year by Mr. Samuel Woodburn." This accounts for one year, leaving forty without a scrap of history.

William Lincoln, who nearly a hundred years ago wrote the *History of Worcester*, records a tradition which undoubtedly has some basis of fact. Many people must have been living in 1833 who could remember the house and its occupants for fifty years or more, and the man named Henchman living there, "an eccentric man," Lincoln writes, "having even stronger peculiarities of manner than are the usual attributes of celibacy. He constructed his coffin and hollowed his grave with his own hands, many years before his decease. Willing to derive benefit while living from the first of these tenements of mortality, the box was deposited in the garret and annually filled with the productions of his garden, until he took personal possession. A stone long marked the spot where his remains reposed amid the fields he cultivated but no memorial indicates the place of his rest. Several aged apple trees planted by him near his dwelling on the farm of the late Levi Lincoln still survive. On his decease the land descended to the family of the late Gov. John Hancock."

This Henchman could not have been a son of the first Daniel, the places and dates of their deaths are all known and they all were too early to fit this tradition. It was without much doubt a grandson and perhaps the most plausible candidate is Samuel, called cooper and jagg maker, the brother of the third Daniel. To be sure he is described in the settlement of his estate in 1770 as of Boston, but Boston had always been his home and the fact that he spent some of the last years of his life in Worcester might not change his legal residence. Daniel in his will gives "unto my brother Samuel, washing, lodging and living in my said dwelling house during the life of my said wife the same to be paid for out of my estate," and after his wife's death, £40 a year. Samuel had once been a joint owner with Daniel of this Lincoln St. property and he may very easily have preferred after his brother's death, in 1761, when he was a man of seventy, to have "his diet, lodging and living" in this country farmhouse rather than in the more elegant city mansion. As far as I can find out he was never married, and perhaps was just the kind of man to slip into a New England tradition of the days of Lincoln's boyhood.

But why in any case should such a large fine house be given over to an eccentric bachelor, who chose to live alone and potter over his dusty garret and his dried herbs?

Do the words of John Hancock's description of the place as the "home farm" throw any light on the subject? Whose home? Did the Daniel Henchman who built it ever live there enough to call it home? Did his daughter Lydia and her husband Thomas Hancock keep it for their own country home? Or did John Hancock himself? None but these three had owned it since the division of the first Daniel Henchman's land, and even had his original house once stood on this part of it, would Hancock, the nephew of his granddaughter's husband, think of it as the home farm ninety-seven years after his death?

To go back to the children of the first Daniel.

The third son, Nathaniel, not only came with his father, but immediately took an active part in the affairs of the village. He was present at the meetings of the committee, and in 1784 was authorized to keep a house of entertainment for travellers. He could sell and furnish travellers or inhabitants with rum or other strong waters in bottles of a pint or quart, but not to retail any in his house or suffer tippling there. Nathaniel was not married at this time, nor until ten years later when he married Hannah, daughter of Dea. Nathaniel Greenwood of Boston, who brought him large tracts of land at the North End. After her death he married Dorothy Emerson, daughter of Rev. John and Ruth (Symonds) Emerson of Gloucester, and niece of Harlakenden Symonds. Nathaniel left several children; his son of the same name was for years the revered minister of Lynn, and his grandson and great grandson physicians of high standing. All the descendants of Daniel Henchman bearing the name are probably of Nathaniel's line.

The rest of the family undoubtedly came with their father to Worcester. Susanna was twice married, first to Samuel Collins of Boston and secondly to John Harris of Middletown, Conn. Besides these older children of the first wife, Sarah, there were three or four little ones, the children of Mary (Pole) Henchman, the oldest about eleven, the youngest two; of these, Daniel was father of Daniel the shipwright, and Jane, who married James Varney, left a number of descendants of various names. The others died young.

The two years that the Henchman family lived in Worcester were lonely and thankless. The controversy between George Danson and Capt. John Wing, which has been so ably and thoroughly described in a paper read before this Society by Mr. Francis E.

Blake, must have been a very unpleasant experience for Capt. Henchman. He was torn between his desire to give the land in question to his old Ensign Wing, and Danson's determination to have it and none other. In June Sewall writes: "Eliakim comes home this day, brings word that Capt. Henchman is coming away from Worcester with his family." However uncomfortable this quarrel made him, however weary he was of the whole business, he stayed by the ship and on October 5, signed an affidavit confirming Danson in his choice of lots, which closes with the words, "This I certifie as one at the point of Deth the Riteous God knoweth I speake the truth."

Monday, October 19, 1685, Sewall writes in his diary: "About nine o'clock at night news comes to Town of Capt. Henchman's death at Worcester last Thursday, buried on Friday. Very few at his funeral, his own servants, a white and a black put him in his grave. His wife and children following and no more or but one or two more." He died on Thursday, October 15, 1685, on the first anniversary of the granting of the name Worcester by the General Court. As we infer from Sewall's brief entry he was buried near his house on Lincoln St. and this simple funeral cost £16.3.10.

He left no will and his property was divided among his heirs without help from the Courts. He had a fair library of nearly one hundred and fifty volumes, a small amount of goods in his shop, cloth, mostly remnants, swords, and tools, bows and arrows, some furniture in Boston, one silver spoon, four weapons worth a shilling apiece, weapons which probably served in King Philip's War, and other less valuable "lumber." His "house, stock and goods in the country" were apprized at £49.3.0.

In Boston he had his house, brew house wharf and various tracts of land. And last of all in the inventory his wearing clothes £10.0.0., not an extravagant amount for a well-dressed gentleman.

Mr. Charles A. Chase, some years ago, wrote for this Society a carefully prepared paper on the Daniel Henchman Farm of two hundred and fifty-four acres on Lincoln St. and vicinity. Besides this Henchman had various rights, on which rights other tracts of land were laid out to his heirs after his death, 309 acres, making the land to which he was entitled in Worcester over 563 acres. Part of this was situated on Salisbury St., including Prospect Hill, the Chamberlain Farm, and other land in that vicinity. This has

been traced in a paper by Caleb Wall. The rest was in the north-eastern part of the town on West Boylston St. All this we have seen was valued at £49.3.0. including the house where he lived, his stock and goods. His grandson Daniel, son of Hezekiah, seems to have been the only one of his descendants who placed much value on this Worcester property, and through his only child Lydia it all passed as we have seen into the possession of John Hancock.

His Boston farm between Charter and Commercial Sts. was situated very near what the deeds call the sea, but Sewall the river. Here he built his mansion house, which he left for a home and a grave in the wilderness. At his death he owed an old debt for £500, borrowed years before from John Hull, and descending by inheritance to Hull's daughter, Mrs. Hannah Sewall. Sewall throws off the interest and the Henchmans deed him this house, apprized at £500, he paying them £100 and leasing the house to them. It was a losing transaction for him, as neither Mrs. Mary Henchman, who lived in the "best end," or Hezekiah, who had the rest of it, paid their rent after the first two years. Hezekiah however died in 1694, and Nathaniel either lived in his end or controlled it. Nineteen years went by and still the two families stayed on, and still Sewall made repairs, even taking down the old unused brewery and using its material to put a linter along the entire length of the house. At last it became the cause of one of those curious quarrels of early New England which Sewall describes in a pathetic letter to Cotton Mather. He needed money and wished to sell the house, the Henchmans wished to buy it but they were fifty pounds apart in the price of it. Sewall sold it to someone else, a step they could not forgive. When he went to call, Mrs. Mary locked the door and refused to discuss the matter with her old friend who thinks he "should have given her no bad advice, nor have augmented her Calamity, if she had vouchsafed to speak with me." He knew he had been a long-suffering landlord and he permits himself a slight feeling of satisfaction that they were to have another landlord, "that they may learn the difference." He closes this long letter with the words: "I have this Comfort that whatever Obloquy I myself am covered with, yet I hope God of His rich unaccountable, inexhaustible, Victorious Grace, will insert my name among those who hunger and thirst after Righteousness; and that he will never strike my name out of that blessed Catalogue." All this happened in

1706, two years later Nathaniel was still unforgiving, and Sewall writes: "While I was at Cousin Dummer's Mr. Nathaniel Henchman came in with his flaxen Wigg. I wished him joy, i.e. of his wedding. I could not observe that he said a word to me; and generally he turned his back upon me, when none were in the room but he and I. This is the second time I have spoke to him, in vain, as to any answer from him. First was upon the death of his wife. I crossed the way near our house and asked him how he did. He only showed his teeth." How they settled this unpleasantness he does not reveal, but settled it was and Sewall later has very cordial relations with the Henchmans. It seems to have been this second wife of Nathaniel, Dorothy Emerson Henchman, who first gave him, a widower of five months' standing, the idea that Madam Winthrop was highly to be commended to cheer him on his lonely way. If so we are indebted to her for a most entertaining colonial courtship.

If Daniel Henchman's intrepid spirit could return to his old haunts what would he find?

Undoubtedly in Boston, Copp's Hill, with the gravestones of many of his friends and bounded by his own land, would be the least changed spot. There he would discover the stones of his son Richard and his daughter-in-law, Anna Greenwood Henchman—no others of his name. Very near he would see Henchman St. his old path, laid out by him soon after he bought his first lot of land and called by him Declination Alley, but soon described as Henchman's Lane. It leads from Charter St. which he knew as "the lane to the burying place" to his "flatts and wharves" on the sea-side.

Today it is lined with brick buildings, nearly two hundred feet of them on either side, which are filled with a hundred and two Italian families, not one English name appears in the Boston *Directory* for 1930 as belonging to a person dwelling there. He might puzzle for a moment over the Salvatores, Sabatinos, Guiseppis, Filippos, and many other names equally strange to his ears. He would see odd fruits and vegetables in the windows of the small stores, medlars and pink cauliflowers, and had he chosen the anniversary of his death, October 15, for his stroll the gutters might be running purple with the lees of the grape. Furtive cats would scurry from the doorways, there are many eats on Henchman St., and the dark-eyed children swarming on every side might some-

times shriek out his name, the name of their undesirable home.

Henchman St. is the only memorial to him in Boston and we imagine he would gladly shake off its dust and again set out towards Quinsigamond. Here he would find the city of his dreams, all that he hoped for it made possible: security from the enemies, better conveniency in attending God's worship, better education of our children in schools, better accommodation of tradesmen, better helps to civility, and more convenient helps in case of sickness, fire or other casualty.

Here as in Boston his only memorial is a short street, laid out many years after his death through his old homestead, a street less than five hundred feet long and just forty broad. There have been built upon it about a dozen wooden houses in the style of architecture we call "three deckers," and although it begins bravely on Lincoln St. its lower end almost touches the railroad.

Daniel Henchman's plantation has grown into a city, and forgotten him.

MORE HIGH POINTS IN EARLY WORCESTER POLITICS

Paper Read at the Worcester Historical Society
by Chandler Bullock, May 10, 1929

At the request of our Executive Director, Mr. Cutler, I am reading another paper concerning some episodes in our early political history. How interesting it is to look over some of this source-material which is lodged in such quantities here and at the American Antiquarian Society! Nothing but lack of time prevents some of us from following the growing urge to delve in here more and more.

A search of this original material for historical sketches is particularly interesting because in it you get all the sidelights, all the conflicting views that had to be fought out in the period under study. It is all contemporary of the time and thus you get the truest picture possible of the issues discussed and the men who were the actors upon the stage of the period. You get a close-up view of these actors with all their human interest element; and there is nothing more interesting, of course, than human nature.

The forebears of all of us came over here because they were underprivileged in Europe, or they thought they were. They came over here for a better opportunity and they have been coming for these 300 years. Vast credit is due these immigrants of all nationalities. We can honestly admire their pioneer spirit. On the other hand, however, let us keep a judicial view of them; let us not indulge in too much Chinese ancestor-worship.

The personal rewards from historical investigations are many; and there are certain by-products. To my mind there is one most satisfactory by-product of a research in history, and by that I mean a study of original source material. Such a study gives one a much more philosophical view of present-day dissensions.

Now, admittedly, it is easy to become pessimistic today, as one looks about and notes the differences of opinion in our national life, the bitter controversies between the President and Federal Congress, and particularly the United States Senate. There are almost startling sectional differences in the making up of tariff bills and other legislation. There is the farm bloc, so-called, which appears to this part of the country as self-centered and selfish in

their demands. Charles Evans Hughes, probably the most qualified appointee for Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court since John Marshall, was bitterly opposed for confirmation by a substantial minority of the United States Senate. The game of polities certainly is ever going on, in city, state, and nation. There are narrow-minded men—not only in the Federal Congress but in our City Councils and in our State Legislatures.

Therefore, some people get a little depressed, and then they hark back to our past history, to that period when the nation was building, so to speak. So some are apt to think of the past as a period in which most everybody was a constructionist. They begin to feel there were but few destructionists in those days—whereas today destructionists and radicals seem legion.

The result is that too many today are cynical of the present, and some are inclined to think of the past with the feeling best expressed by that phrase—"There were giants in those days." Yes, there were some wonderful giants in those days, but there were a lot of pygmies then, and as many as there are today in our political life. The past had its same proportion of little men who could not see beyond the fence in their own back yard.

I am not an iconoclast. My purpose today is purely constructive. I hope to show some of the passions and prejudices of the past in order that we may be happier about the present.

I have time to relate but one political episode in our history, which involves Worcester and Massachusetts.

I shall touch on the attitude of Worcester and of Worcester County in the matter of the adoption of this glorious Federal Constitution of ours, when the question came up for adoption before the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1788.

But to go back a moment before 1788. I do not need to tell you, who know your histories, of the confusion that prevailed under the old Articles of Confederation which governed the thirteen colonies during our Revolution. The bickering and sectional jealousy was such that nobody but the truly great Washington could have pulled us through that period. No iconoclast can tip Washington off his pedestal; he stands there superb and supreme.

By the way, it might interest those who are pessimistic about the personnel in the present Federal Congress to hear a little from original source-material of 1778. Let me quote for you a letter

of record from George Washington to the then Benjamin Harrison written in December, 1778, as the result of his personal observations of the Continental Congress then assembled in Philadelphia.

"If I was to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of Men, from what I have seen, and heard, and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most of them. That speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration. That party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day, whilst the momentous concerns of an empire are but secondary considerations, and are postponed from day to day, from week to week."

That is an example of source-material that does not get into history books, even though the recorded words of George Washington. And perhaps it should not go into young people's history books. But adults are entitled to get behind the scenes.

After the Revolution was ended the confusion practically became chaos. The old Federation of the original colonies was no more than a rope of sand. The issuance of paper money had destroyed any business stability and most savings. There came Shay's Rebellion and other threats of actual anarchy. The confusion in business was supreme. Whatever Sinclair Lewis and others may say about business men, it was the business men and traders of this country that first started the movement that resulted in this great Constitution of ours. Remember that Washington was essentially a business man. Calvin Coolidge has well emphasized that point in one of his admirable addresses on Washington.

And so, just in time, the famous Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia with delegates from the thirteen original colonies. Washington was the presiding officer. It has been said that that Convention contained the best collection of superior men assembled in one group since the golden age of Athens. In any event, they prepared in four months the draft of a Constitution for the proposed United States—a charter of government (whatever its very few minor defects) admittedly without an equal.

The Constitutional Convention finished its labors in the early fall of 1787. The Constitution then had to be ratified by the states.

Five states had ratified when the momentous issue was presented to Massachusetts. Should or should not Massachusetts in Convention assembled adopt the Federal Constitution—or should the drift to chaos continue?

Massachusetts was called into Constitutional Convention to decide on the question of ratification on January 9, 1788. There were 355 delegates who voted on the momentous issue. They first assembled at the old Boston State House, now standing. The building was too small and they finally met in the old church on the then called "Long Lane." The name of this street was changed to Federal Street shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, to celebrate the occasion.

There was much anxiety by the authors and proponents of the Constitution as to what Massachusetts would do. She was a pivotal point in the whole proceedings, a critical state, if there was to be any United States at all.

The Worcester delegate chosen to the Convention, that is the only one who participated and voted, was David Bigelow. The opinion of the town of Worcester in that historic Convention was represented by this David Bigelow who was no relation to Timothy Bigelow. There were 50 delegates in all from Worcester county.

Our Isaiah Thomas after the matter was over, as the leading printer, in a separate pamphlet printed the debates and proceedings of this Massachusetts Constitutional Convention. These I have read throughout. They compare exactly with the more official report printed in Boston—"Parson's Debates."

Thomas also conducted the *Massachusetts Spy*. A careful perusal of the *Massachusetts Spy* through that period in the early part of 1788, when our convention was in session, showed Thomas' attitude on the Constitution to be one of indecision. During the discussion, he published letters for and against—as many against the adoption were published as for. His editorial attitude was that of a neutral. He evidently did not know just what to do.

For the moment let us step outside of Massachusetts and read from the letters of some of the big men of this period. James Madison, and there was no one more interested in the adoption of the Constitution than he (for he wrote much of it), wrote to

George Washington January 20, 1788, while the convention was in progress in this State, and I quote from his letter:

"The intelligence from Massachusetts begins to be very ominous to the Constitution—there is great reason to fear that the voice of that State would be in the negative. The decision of Massachusetts either way will involve the result in New York State."

He was very anxious.

George Washington himself, on February 5, 1788, just before the day of the final vote in Massachusetts, writes to Madison:

"I am sorry to find by yours, and other accounts from Massachusetts, that the decision of its convention,—remains problematical.—A rejection of the new form by that State would invigorate the opposition, not only in New York, but in all those which are to follow; at the same time, it would afford material for the minority, in such states as have actually agreed to it, to blow the trumpet of discord more loudly. The acceptance by a bare majority, though preferable to a rejection, is also to be deprecated."

(Nobody can say Washington could not write a pointed letter.)

In brief, without Massachusetts' vote, the ratification of the Constitution seemed, on the evidence, quite hopeless.

Now what were the elements in our Massachusetts Convention that led to this pessimism on the part of Madison and Washington? Let us see what Madison says. Madison wrote again to George Washington on February 3 a letter entirely concerned about Massachusetts. He states—and I quote:

"There are unhappily,—parties opposed to it. First, all men who are in favor of paper money. Those are more or less in every part of the State. Second, all the late insurgents and their abettors. We have in the convention eighteen or twenty who actually served in Shay's army."

There is no evidence, however, that our delegate, David Bigelow, served in Shay's army, the last class mentioned by Madison.

Henry Knox writes to Livingston in New York on the Massachusetts situation, and he also specifically refers to that large group

in the convention who are for the alienation of debts—both public and private—and he states in his letter, and I am quoting his words:

“This group will not approve of the Constitution in any event.”

The federalist leaders were also somewhat disturbed by another factor. They had picked John Hancock as the titular President of our Massachusetts Convention—because of his popularity with the people. It is interesting, by the way, to note the comments on John Hancock that John Adams makes in his famous diary. Adams says that whenever an important political issue was to be decided, John Hancock usually managed to have a convenient attack of gout. Even after the Convention had assembled there was some nervousness as to Hancock’s ultimate position. As a matter of fact, although chosen as the presiding officer, it was several days before he mustered the courage to actually sit in the presiding officer’s chair. This nervousness as to Hancock is expressed in a letter of Rufus King to Madison, dated January 30, 1788, while the Convention was in session :

“If Mr. Hancock does not disappoint our present expectations, our wishes will be gratified, but his character is not entirely free from a portion of caprice.”

(That is putting it mildly and tactfully.)

However, ultimately, John Hancock came through for the adoption. This was because—as the records show—he was practically promised the first governorship of the new state of Massachusetts under the Constitution. He had been Governor under the old Articles of Confederation. James Bowdoin was his leading opponent. Bowdoin was eliminated by those who had to compromise with Hancock.

See in confirmation Professor Samuel B. Harding’s book “The Contest Over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts” in Harvard Historical Studies, Volume 11, published in 1896.

We must never let any cynic of today persuade us there was any less politics played in “the good old days” than in this present year of grace.

There was once an erroneous idea that the compromise provision in the Constitution permitting the slave trade for twenty years operated against ratification. This is distinctly not so. The contrary was the fact. There were seventeen clergymen delegates to the Convention and fourteen of them (all but three) voted for ratification. Their argument was that if the southern states were not to be in a central government with power then the slave trade never could be stopped. Thus the proposed Constitution was the one means to ultimately put a stop to it. This is all borne out in the Convention debates.

Now let me quote from the actual debate as it appears in the *Worcester Magazine* of Isaiah Thomas and Parson's debates on the subject. We will quote some of the arguments used against adoption.

A Mr. Wedgery was a prominent opponent of the Constitution. He did not come from this county. The line of opposition can be gathered from his speeches as reported. At the end of one of them, he sums up his opposition in this statement which I quote:

He asks,—

“What serves to pay the debts of the yeomanry and others? Sir, when oil will quench fire, I believe all this—and not until then. On the contrary, I think that the adoption of this Constitution makes against them (he refers to the yeomanry), though it may be something in favor of the merchants.”

There you have it. There you have much of the milk in the cocoanut of opposition.

A careful perusal of the whole debate shows that another of the principal opponents was a Dr. Taylor—a delegate from Douglas in this county. He is reported in the debates as follows—raising this momentous point:

“Dr. Taylor then asked why the federal city (he refers to the District of Columbia) need be ten miles square, and he asked whether one mile square would not be sufficient.”

I assume this thought was not the real reason of his opposition. He was apparently doing the old time obstructionist trick of trying to raise all the minor points possible to cloud up the whole and real issue.

We should bear in mind that during all this debate from which I quote, certain amendments had already been agreed to by all which constitute in substance the first ten Constitutional amendments—sometimes called the “Bill of Rights Amendments.”

It will be of interest to quote a few more of the arguments in opposition. I quote them because they will give you a better idea of the feeling in the background that prompted the opposition.

Benjamin Randall, delegate from Sharon said this:

“An old saying, Sir, is that ‘a good thing don’t need praising:’ but, Sir, it takes the best men in the State to gloss this Constitution, which they say is the best human wisdom can invent. In praise of it, we hear the reverend clergy, the judges of the supreme court, and the ablest lawyers, exerting their utmost abilities. Now, Sir, suppose all this artillery turned the other way, and these great men would speak half as much against it, we might complete our business, and go home in forty-eight hours.”

Another delegate exclaimed that he would not trust “a flock of Moseses.”

Another delegate took the opportunity to comment on George Washington, the President of the Federal Constitutional Convention itself. He said, in his mind, “Washington’s character fell 50%.”

Modern Presidents are not the only ones who get slapped on the wrist by noisy politicians.

I will end up my quotations from the debates by taking a Worcester County delegate, Amos Singletary from Sutton (from whom a pond down that way has been named). This is what he said:

“These lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men that talk so finely, and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us, poor illiterate people, swallow down the pill,—expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to be the managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks, like the great leviathan, Mr. President; yes, just as the whale swallowed up Jonah. This is what I am afraid of.”

Yes, the passions, the prejudices and the fears of human nature are forever. They certainly existed in the fullest force 150 years ago.

Our own delegate, Bigelow, from this town, according to the report of the debates, did not open his head during the entire convention. His name only appears recorded in the final vote.

The fate of the whole Federal Constitution practically hung in the balance at four p.m. February 6, 1788, at that meeting-house in Long Lane, Boston, when they took the poll of the delegates.

Our David Bigelow voted "no," against the adoption of the Constitution. We must assume he was representing the predominant sentiment of our former townspeople. Why did he vote "no"? Was he one of that large group—spoken of by Madison and Knox—who were in favor of paper money? Or was he in favor of the cancellation of debts—both public and private—or was he simply following those who were? Or was he jealous of the merchants in the more prosperous and more thickly settled part of the State, or was he just afraid and without courage?

What was the total vote? It was 187 for adoption to 168 against adoption; a majority of 19 only in a vote of 355, when this great issue hung in the balance. In Worcester county, out of 50 delegates in the Convention, but 7 voted for the adoption of the Federal Constitution and 41 against it: 2 dodged the ballot. The strongest affirmative vote came from the eastern part of the State. The earlier settled towns where the merchants predominated, such as Boston and in Plymouth and Essex County, voted, with very few exceptions, in the affirmative. The small towns and all this section here voted against the Constitution.

Professor Harding in his Harvard Historical Studies, before referred to, maintains, and with logic, that this old situation is much analogous to the present farm bloc, the farmers, or the yeomanry, being opposed to, and distrustful of, the city business men and the dwellers in the larger communities.

It was a very narrow squeak for the Federal Constitution. Massachusetts barely came through for it. But common sense finally won, and the rising sun of the new republic was to rise, in spite of the vote of our Worcester delegate, and the Worcester County delegates.

I held in my hand and read in the American Antiquarian Society last week an original letter from Samuel Salisbury of Boston to his brother Stephen Salisbury of Worcester. They were partners in business—running wholesale and retail stores both in Boston and

Worcester (there is nothing new about chain stores). In these stores certain merchandise was a very important factor, as you will note. Note also the date of the letter was exactly three days after the ratification.

“Boston, February 9, 1788

Brother Stephen:

I congratulate you on the Constitution being adopted by this State. Your county you will see by the list is almost unanimously against it. I think it is very discouraging—their rising against government.

I now send by Mr. Flagg five barrels of rum and one box of sundries. I do not find we have any smaller handle frying pans than those sent you a few days ago.

I remain,

Your affectionate brother,
S. L. Salisbury.”

The significant statement in that Salisbury letter is that part which I will requote:

“Your county—is almost unanimously against the Constitution. I think it is very discouraging—their rising against government.”

“Their rising against government”—he means their being against any form of government. At least that is the feeling that those in the eastern part of Massachusetts had as to the position of our Worcester County delegates. They seemed up here to be against any proposed form of law and order under a written Constitution.

To summarize:—Here then there was proposed a balanced charter of government with unexampled opportunity for all, under which more humble people have come, or been born, and have risen and become great than anywhere else in all the world. Yet that charter of government was bitterly and almost successfully opposed by many of the people and by all the more radical element of that time.

So perchance if we get pessimistic as to the politics and political agitation of today, may we remember there always has been—and always will be—a struggle between the conservatives and the radicals, between the constructionists and the destructionists.

These old fighters and politicians of the past soon forgot their passions and learned to live together amicably. We can do so. Somehow a study of history leads us to more toleration and a happier spirit in the present.

The conflicting opinions of today, as in the past, must be thrown into the crucible of public discussion—and there be fused. And above all let us be sweet about it. And let us remember that a study of the past conclusively shows that human nature, whether expressed politically or otherwise, has not deteriorated a particle.

AMONG THE SCHOOLBOOKS OF OUR FATHERS— A GHOST-WALK

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Frank Colegrove, February 11, 1927

There is a department of the library of this Society which is peculiarly instinct with the shadowy forms of the departed—and particularly I call it the ghost-land of the children. This is the collection of textbooks, the schoolbooks of our fathers, from the little great-greats looking out from the remote years, to the fathers of our own children. And amid the groups of children and youths are also mingled here and there silhouettes of the stately and formal figures of their elders.

What a delightful experience it would be to go into one and another of the little red schoolhouses, and others, of the past, and see the little fathers and mothers at their tasks and their mischief, to rummage the desks and benches for the stuff of which their most truly selves were compacted, the well-thumbed books, with all their telltale marks. And why not let us go? Here we have the books, with all their ghostly notations, the dog's-ears and finger marks, and notes and scrawls of use. And, indeed, here we have the children themselves (and their sometimes funnier elders), or at least their *disjecta membra*, for not only are these old schoolbooks instinct with ghostly presences, but, as they actually were a part, and a most important part, of the realest selves of those whom they nourished, we are in fact, as we view these reliques with both the physical and the spiritual eye brought into actual contact with those old young people. Pointing to these "remains," we may, after the manner of Anthony, cry, See, here are the children themselves! And from these parts we may, as the hypothetical naturalist with a single bone of an extinct animal, reconstruct largely the mental personalities. Do you marvel at the gravity of some stern-faced ancestor, or the gentle seriousness of some preternaturally prim ancestress,—look at the textbooks which became they!

If it is even in a measure true that knowing the physical food on which a man lives, we can tell somewhat of his characteristics, how much more if we know on what mental and spiritual food he is nourished, can we tell of his real self.

I have so much enjoyed some recent delvings among our textbooks of all degrees of past-timeness, despite their frequently forbidding external presentment and format, that I am inviting you to accompany me tonight, as may be possible through the medium of this paper, in a casual excursion up and down the shelves, pulling out a book here and there, as it strikes our interest or curiosity, or suggests memories and associations—with such chat the while as may be incited by these very human relics, and many digressions following the undercurrent of our imaginings as to the manner of people who were built up from this material.

And if we may from these books visualize with keen interest the children growing up under their formative influence, with no less interest, and sometimes even more sympathy, will our backward look regard the *makers* of these quaint old documents, the rank beyond the outmost rank of the children, wondering on what mental pabulum they could have been reared, since they are quite unanimous in assuring us that their own products are a great improvement on their predecessors' on which husks they must perforce have fed.

By the way, you will note how closely my suggestion as to the "real presence" in these reliques, on the side of the *makers*, jumps with the quaint old-time denomination of the posthumously published works of an author, as his "remains," as, "Select Remains of the Rev. John Mason, late rector, etc."

Of course it is merely for our own mental convenience that we call attention to only the most distant rank of the makers of these books. In fact there is a continuous alternation of those who made them, and those who have been made by them—the particular book in hand in any instance looking back to the one, and forward to the other. But in all we have the ghosts, the remains, the books which were part of the makers, and became part of the users.

Fortunately many of these schoolbook makers are so frank in their confidences with the public, in advertisements, prefaces, etc., as to limn for us exquisite living, pulsing portraits of themselves, for which we owe them a lively gratitude.

There are for us two main sources of enjoyment as we rummage amid this flotsam of the past. One is the pleasant personal reminiscences, as we meet again these familiar comrades of our own

past, recognizing in them much of the beginnings of our present selves, and let our thoughts stray down the later years, following the widely divergent paths of many whose first steps paralleled ours. Or perhaps we find still more of the books which we have used, as teachers or parents, to start others on new trails. The other is the fascinating study of the older generations of children through these ghostly relics. At the first you may cry, "Shall these dry bones live?" but as you let your fancy play, and your eyes become used to the dim light, you perceive that there is a spirit of life moving among them, and that not only are they clothed upon, but there is all the lively human interest and individuality among these, which make the study of the other ghosts whom we call the living so pathetico-humorous.

My own fund of memories in this connection is abundant, as I have breathed the atmosphere of the schoolroom almost from my birth until middle age, first in New England and then in Western Virginia and Illinois, including nineteen years of teaching in schools of all grades and no grade, from the backwoods to college. So my companionship with ghosts whom I have known in the flesh is very extensive, and it is easy for me to blend with these, those whom I have known only through their ghostly reliques.

As I have suggested, the first aspect of the array of old-time textbooks is not attractive, but rather gloomy and repellent, but the persistent explorer, as he delves, will again and again be surprised into a hearty guffaw at some bit of delicious, though wholly unconscious humor, flashing out from the dullest seeming page, until he will be prepared to sympathize with my inclination to call this paper: *An Evening with the Gentle Humorists Who Enlivened the Schoolbooks of Our Fathers.* But of course that would be unduly to emphasize the incidental, the casual and infrequent rush-lights amid the prevailing gloom of matter and form, which furnish the highlights for us looking back over so much that is dreary. Nature must perforce find some antidote for the hard textbooks, which in the main were not the beguilements to education of a vaudeville and movie age, but as the handfuls of dried pease allotted to the Hermit of Copmanhurst as his lawful provender. Grim and scantily relieved earnestness was the rule, calling for concentrated effort in the use, and the sad eyes of the painstaking authors, conscious benefactors all, would pursue me for any lack of respect-

ful appreciation. So, while we shall not fail to refresh ourselves with the humor as we fare along, much of which, in truth, has gathered its flavor with the lapse of time, we must not give it an overprominent place.

Our thought being chiefly of the children who have been nurtured on these books, I shall in this survey notice mainly those touching the greatest numbers of the children, the readers, spellers, 'rithmetics and geographies, and the more elementary grammars, with but casual reference to the exceptional and higher texts.

As in a picture we must, in order to produce a distinct and vivid impression, have a focus, or foci of interest, so must we do in this broad survey, and I have selected two such foci for our consideration—each with its own well-marked characteristics and conditions, and each also fairly representative of a large area.

First, *Western Virginia*, as central to my own reminiscences, and representative of considerable portions of the south and west of our country, and particularly as eminently exemplary of conditions in which a few series of texts in the fundamental branches have exerted a marvelous influence upon the people of a large area *en masse*.

And second, *Worcester*, as of course of prime interest to us, largely typical of the east, and especially illustrative of conditions of the earlier days of the country. Wholly similar conditions to those of the south and west did not exist here at any time, and the nearest approximation to them was from 50 to 100 years earlier.

Here, in distinction from the standardization of texts, and consequent mass effects, suggested above, we have a field for the study of individuality in authorship, diversity of texts, and a resultant variety of idiosyncrasies in the ultimate product.

If a psycho-chemical analysis could be made of the average citizen of West Virginia (and in a degree of the south and the middle west generally) of the generations whose intellectual foundations were laid a half century or a little longer ago, it would show large percentages of McGuffey's Spellers and Readers, and Ray's Third Part Arithmetic, with varying but small percentages of Mitchell's Geography, Pinneo's Grammar, and Ray's Intellectual Arithmetic, and almost negligible traces of other texts. I should unhesitatingly name the first three of these as the prime educational and humanizing influences.

Standardization and permanence of texts was practically a necessity under the conditions of scattered population and individual furnishing of the books, enabling these to be used by the various members of the family in succession. And there was a sort of community bond of real power in the fact that over large expanses all were familiar with the same books. The value to this region of McGuffey's Speller is not to be reckoned only in its strictly literary and memory-building function, but largely in its broader social service as the basis of the "spelling-match," which has broken down many an inferiority complex, and started its erstwhile possessor on the upward path of leadership.

And what McGuffey's Readers meant to these children and youths can hardly be exaggerated. I have often driven the whole McGuffey team together, Speller, and Readers First to Sixth, and nothing else calls up in my memory so many familiar forms, now scattered far and wide, with the vivid impression of their personalities, as these old readers, many extracts from which I still find myself repeating after all these years. For one thing, they afforded to thousands of pupils absolutely their only contact with literature, and, considering that the whole content of the series became a familiar possession of all, in a school where all exercises and recitations were conducted in the one room, this was a most powerful and inescapable educational influence. The picture, common to my eyes, of a child sitting for hours each day on the rough benches, with a McGuffey's Speller as its sole textbook equipment, loses something of its cruel pathos when we consider that the entire literary and scholastic cosmos of the schoolroom was unrolled daily for its contemplation. Like the youthful Ruskin, shut in behind his little table in a corner of the room, picking up unnoticed whatever he listed from the readings and conversations of his elders, these little ones absorbed, consciously and subconsciously, a vast amount of the passing panorama. And the older pupils were in turn, in the same way, constantly reviewing the ground previously traversed.

That the kingdom of McGuffey extended over other portions of our middle country than West Virginia, is confirmed in a letter from "Vic" Donahey, Governor of Ohio, to the *Youth's Companion* of March 25, 1926. After referring to the "little backwoods village nestled in the hills of eastern Ohio, environs of my early years,"

and speaking of the inspiration of the *Companion*, he says, "And then who of the present middle-aged generation does not remember McGuffey's Readers? I suppose I am mistaken, but it seems to me the abandonment of these readers was an incalculable loss to the boys and girls of America. My father was a school-teacher and had me reading McGuffey's Third Reader before I attended school. All the McGuffey's Readers I read and reread as a boy. Many of the poems I can recite to this day, although I have not read them for years. A History of the Bible, the *Youth's Companion*, and McGuffey's Readers had the greatest influence on me as a child."

The editors of the *Companion* comment on the above, as follows: "Governor Donahey is right in lamenting the abandonment of McGuffey's Readers, but he will soon receive two of the new Atlantic Readers now being printed . . . These new readers will make the ten Donahey boys and girls even fonder of good reading than their father."

The ideals of the youth of this region did not incline to the scholastic models of the east, but almost wholly to forensic and oratorical abilities, and hence these readers, stressing the rhetorical element, were far more suited to their genius than those whose main purpose was information.

The peak of the rhetorical structure was "Kidd's Elocution," but this, like Ray's Fourth Part Arithmetic, rather represented the privileged classes, and was but sparsely available to the masses.

In the West Virginia of my day Geography was not a popular study, and the older textbooks were most unattractive and ill suited to the use of the usually young and inexperienced teachers of the rural schools. However, poor tools, literary or mechanical, often attain the ends sought, by challenging the will and determination of the user, and so I once made a Geography class in a near-backwoods district of that State, which was the talk of the community. First came flat failure, with the impossible tools—then on Saturday, between breakfast and dinner, a 28-mile walk to purchase some sheets of bonnet board and a box of water-color paints, with which, and a pantagraph for copying and enlarging, I soon produced a set of wall maps which were suited to the work in hand. Later I imported from Boston a supply of little outline analyses which, with slight revision by myself fitted my maps.

Now, to come to the east, and Worcester—let us glance at some

of the salient characteristics of the textbooks of New England, in distinction from those which we have been considering. Many of these sprang from its proximity, in point of intercourse and close ties of relationship, with England, and familiarity with its ideals and attainments in scholarship, the New England having indeed in its own bosom some of the greatest prodigies (I had almost said monstrosities) of learning, not all of whom were named Mather.

These conditions, while not displacing the speller and reader, among the humanities, and the intermediate arithmetic on the practical side, from their preëminence, greatly modified their nature, and advanced grammar, geography, and history to a higher place.

The dominant religious ideals led to what seems to our age an overweighting of moral instruction in all sorts of schoolbooks—elaborate forms of public and private prayer in a “First Book”! But perhaps the most characteristic result of the scholastic traditions was the constant crowding into a textbook on one subject, an epitome of all other known branches of learning. The authors were so overflowing with erudition (or the lust of it), and had but the one small book in which to present it, so, whether it were a primer, a speller, or the classic example, and a Worcester production, an *Infant-School Manual*, in it all had to go.

When a schoolbook has had the prodigious vogue of the Speller in the early days, it is well to inquire just what a speller was. At about 1845 one spelling book in England had been through more than 450 editions, and in this country Webster’s had reached a sale of over 18,000,000 copies. Another fact, with a significance noted later, was that in spite of the great sale of a few leading works, there had been issued in this country since 1804, 110 different spelling-books.

With most of us in our school days a blue or yellow spelling-book, a speller was, and nothing more, such was McGuffey’s of blessed memory. But it was not ever thus. Here is what we might call “Worcester’s Own,” not Dr. Worcester’s, that came later, but the speller with which Isaiah Thomas put Worcester on the educational map. This was “Perry’s Speller—*the Only Sure Guide to the English Tongue*,” an English work, adopted and repeatedly revised and improved in the American editions. The Worcester issues of this work had by 1803 run through 14 editions (consisting

of at least 300,000 copies), and there followed some 19 more editions by 1817. Of its nearly 200 pages, about half were devoted to spelling, and the rest comprised reading lessons, moral tales, and fables, and "A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Tongue." Comprehensive—Yes, in the Appendix, not at the close or following, but in the very midst, among the various topics of orthography and grammar, are given directions: To Make good Black INK—also good Red INK. For the latter, 3 pints of stale beer is preferred rather than vinegar, and the black ink is to be put in a glass of brandy or other spirits to keep it from freezing.

In the issue of 1805 Mr. Thomas omitted the Grammar, and included more of the moral tales and fables.

In the west we have seen the great value of standardization of textbooks, under fitting conditions, but in the east there was early developed, with very interesting results, the very opposite conditions of authorship and publication—against uniformity, diversity—witness the 110 different spellers put forth here between 1804 and 1845; over against impersonal corporate authorship, all varieties of individual idiosyncrasies, the books being made by very human individuals in the most direct and untrammeled contact with their constituencies—touchingly solicitous alike for the discharge of their own heavy responsibilities, and for the well-being of the young gentlemen and ladies whom they seek to benefit. Their naive self-revelations, timidly but vividly presented, through advertisement, titlepage, preface, or other introduction, enable us to follow their most interesting ghosts back through the books which proceeded forth of them. Anybody, at the lightest suggestion of a "gentleman of intelligence," usually a teacher, or the request of "several young ladies," would, with charming complaisance, blithely assume the role of author of a school-book.

Of course it is here that we find the humorists, for humor is individual and spontaneous—we do not look to a syndicate publishing company for examples of it. It is ebullient personality.

The first textbooks were of course a direct importation, chiefly from England, and when conditions began to permit of their production here, these still served as the basis, though constantly modified in successive American editions. This portion of a rule for division, in an English imprint of 1697, I have not found exactly reproduced: "In Division, set down your Dividend, and draw a crooked line at each end of it."

In the work of re-issuing the best foreign texts, Isaiah Thomas was among the noted pioneers.

Amid the interesting but distracting multiplicity of texts, flowing from the conditions noted above, we can but touch upon one here and there, almost at random, as it attracts our attention.

Even in the east, the successful presentation of Geography, from the available books, was recognized as difficult—witness the expedients resorted to for associating an interest with it. A favorite one was the infusion of a strong tincture of astronomy, with a dash of mythology, and excursions into romance under the guise of natural history. Music and poetry were invoked perhaps not wholly without effect, as in Waters's *Poetical Geography* (With the Rules of Arithmetic in Verse). A single gem from this I think will suffice:

“The Temperate Zones are on those parts our ball,
Which 'tween the polar curves and tropics fall.

The Frigid Zones include both land sky
Of parts which in the polar circles lie.

And of the Polar Circles now I'll tell;
They with the Tropics are found parallel;
Just twenty three, one half, and nothing less,
Aloof the Poles, these, in degrees, I guess.”

The rule for Cube Root I will spare you.

Some of the older geographies are indeed interesting and funny enough to us, but how many years it has taken for them to become so!

The first Geography printed in America was that of Jedidiah Morse, 1784. Before me is the third edition, 1791. This discourses pleasingly of a number of things—the “tyger of America;” The Buffalo, from whose hair a “tolerable good cloth” is made; The Mammoth, “which is believed still to exist beyond the Lakes;” “Molasses and water, which has become a fashionable drink.”

The Elements of Geography, published by Isaiah Thomas, Boston, 1798, tells of the “Shining Mountains,” lying away west of the Mississippi, but little known; also the White Mountains in New Hampshire, “which have been elegantly described by Dr. Belknap in the 3rd volume of his History of that State.” And it boasts

of a neat map of the United States and a beautiful chart of the whole world.

Others of the early texts were no better and not so funny, and of course with the numerous later ones you are familiar, such as, in the middle-ground, Cornell's, Colton & Fitch's, and Guyot's.

We are indebted for a most interesting glimpse into the Infant Schools of a former day, to a Worcester book, *The Infant School Manual*, 1844, designed "to redeem the valuable portion of life which passes between the time when children go from their mothers' arms, to that in which they are ordinarily sent to the common school." This book was not intended to be placed in the infants' hands, but as it abounds in examples of actual question and answer to be used with them, a few specimens will be more eloquent of its character than a mere statement of all the branches, known, and largely unknown, included. The teacher queries, "What are oblique parallelopipeds?" Up come the hands, and a sweet childish treble pipes, "When the sides are rhombuses or rhomboides, and the four corners oblique angles."

Presumably the faults of speech which the teacher will be careful to correct, mirror the *common* errors of the pupils—and we are surprised at the singular and picturesque errors in the use of the interjection which the uncensored speech of these infants must have revealed. Example,—Ah I! Corrected,—Ah me! Other erroneous usages noted: Heigh yours! Oh yours, hypocrites! Alas we! (Should be, Alas us!). However, the faithful use of this little book must have nipped these particular faults in the bud, as in the course of a rather long life, much of it spent in the schoolroom, I have never known a child addicted to ejaculating in moments of emotional stress, Ah I, Ah I, what shall I do. So far this portion of life would seem to have been redeemed. But alack, our children do not now prattle in either *Alas we*, or *Alas us*—the wheat having been rooted up with the tare.

Definitions of the different causes of death. Eight of these are defined for these infants, and murder is further subdivided into five varieties, and then, when one dies without any perceptible means? No, not pauperism, but "the stroke of death."

From the abundant entertainment in the field of natural history, in this remarkable book, I cull but a single example: "How do the Indians capture them (the turkeys)? They send a dog among

them first, but with the help of their wings they outrun the dog, and when they become tired of running, they fly upon the trees, from which the Indians knock them down with long poles, and kill them." This is delicious; I know of nothing better in its way unless in "Paul and Virginia," where, these delightful children becoming hungry in their explorations, Paul nonchalantly burns down a tree to obtain the nuts at the top.

Of the Buffalo, since its known habitat seems to have been confined to Italy, I will make no further mention.

The shadow of Lindlay Murray hung heavy over the field of Grammar, but there were not wanting kind souls to do their endeavors to mitigate the gloom. *The American Linguist, or Natural Grammar*, presented in "Social Lessons," with its "Perfect Alphabet," and an elaborate use of the Musical Scale, was a noble attempt. The wonderful little girl (the feebly disguised author), in conversations with whom the Social Lessons were administered, if she had occurred in real life would have gone up promptly to bother the angels, no doubt stopping them in the midst of a hosannah to ask some leading question regarding the musical technique.

"The Little Grammarians," 1829, in lighter vein, relied chiefly upon a series of ingenious cuts. The author says: "We think the best plan yet adopted is the system of Mnemonicks, which is found highly useful in aiding the memory; as pictures excite attention and afford amusement to young minds. Children accustomed to view cuts will retain an indelible impression of the parts of speech." The cut before me, presenting graphically the characteristics of the verb, active, passive and neuter, has remained in my memory long enough to justify the above claim. The active (master with the rod) *gives* the strokes. The passive (urchin in his grasp) *receives*. The *neuter* (the other boy, on the stool, hoping that he is not concerned neither gives nor receives, but remains inactive.

"The Ready Reckoner," a species of applied Arithmetic extinct in our time, was a vital necessity in the days when people really had "all kinds of money," and must be their own banks of exchange in many of the intercourses of daily life. This one, being issued in Baltimore, must show in its tables the values of a guinea in Sterling, in Maryland Money, and in U. S. Money. It quotes the value of the shilling in the various States, as follows:

6 shillings to the dollar in Vt., N. H., Mass., R. I., Conn., and Va.;
7 shillings six pence in N. J., Penna., Del., and Md.;
8 shillings in N. Y.;
4 shillings 8 pence in S. C. and Ga.

Numerous tables of values of foreign coins were also necessary.

The Arithmetic was not suffered to escape the duty of moral training—"Emerson's First Part," 1857, says, "There were 7 farmers, 3 of whom drank rum and whiskey, and became miserable; the rest drank water, and were healthy and happy. How many drank water?" In the accompanying cut of great emotional value, no detail of contrast is lost.

You will hardly explore a lot of old textbooks without coming upon, among the leaves, specimens of the Rewards of Merit; a characteristic one is before me, which has scattered smiles down a long career. Picture and text exactly fit each other, which is fortunate, as if separated it would be difficult to find a mate for either. Like mother, like daughter, was achieved then, as now, but by precisely opposite methods. Now mother and grandmother copy daughter, but then, and conspicuously in this picture, daughter is simply mother drawn to a smaller scale, and son is likewise a miniature of father. The text runs:

See, Father, Mother, see!
To My Brother and to me
Has our teacher given a card,
To show that we have studied hard!
To you we think it must be pleasant
To see us both with such a present."

We are accustomed to textbooks issued wholesale and addressed to Tom, Dick and Harry, and Jack and Gill, equally, but those early individual authors were more discriminating, and often made their appeal to particular groups.

There is the "Young Lady's Arithmetic," Leominster, 1797, Published by request of Several Young Ladies, desirous of adding to their other mental accomplishments the pleasing & Useful science of *Figures*. It does not contain the dollar sign, using the capital *D* instead, with the note: "Another character is used, *but there is no type at present.*" Shades of all the caricaturists of Uncle Sam, Mark Hanna, etc.! Doubtless the types were all absorbed in the more urgent necessity of fitting out the books for young gentlemen.

"The Young Lady's Accidence, Etc.," Boston, 1793, was "designed principally for the use of Young Learners, more especially those of the *Fair Sex*, though proper for either."

"Alexander's Grammar," however, of the same date, was frankly "for both sexes." But not so "The New Pleasing Instructor," Boston, 1799, which says: "As it is the opinion of the most judicious of both sexes that public exhibitions, in speaking, are not only unnecessary but highly improper for Misses, the number of dialogues inserted is small, and these are designed only to assist them in learning to read this kind of compositions with propriety."

"Corbett's Grammar (English)—In a Series of Letters," is perhaps the most distinctly specialized, being "for the use of more especially Soldiers, Sailors, Apprentices and Ploughboys—Also six lessons intended to prevent *Statesmen* from using false grammar and writing in an awkward manner."

"The Pennsylvania Spelling Book, or Youth's Friendly Monitor and Instructor," Providence, 1782, would lend a helping hand to (among other classes) "illiterate domesticks." In a list of words accented on the last syllable, I find *O-range* and *Stock-holm*.

But perhaps the acme of appeal to class consciousness is shown in "The Village Reader," Springfield, 1846.

This survey has been full of surprises, perhaps none greater than the complaint of one of the authors that his predecessors seem to have had as their object merely the *amusement* of the pupils. I have pondered deeply over this statement, so seemingly incomprehensible in view of the earlier books which have come under my notice. To be sure there is the "New Pleasing Instructor, or Young Lady's Guide to Virtue and Happiness," for "General Instruction and Amusement," and containing the amusing sentiment which I have quoted elsewhere, but one swallow does not make a summer. Can it be that the reference is to the illustrations? It would seem a far cry from these stern and rockbound old texts to the modern movies—but what if these nondescript figures were really designed to play the part of the funnygraphs in our movies, inciting to hilarious mirth the unsophisticated youth of that day. There is at least food for thought in the suggestion, yet I rather incline to a second theory, in some respects perhaps more suited to the genius of our revered ancestors. These pictures, running largely to Natural History, in which field, though all are eminent for badness, the

limit surely is reached in a little German primer printed in Germantown, 1805, where the fox may be known by the goose in its mouth, the stork by an eel or snake in its beak or wriggling at its feet, and others are not known by anything. The fact that these passed the limit of intended *pictures* of real objects, suggested my theory—*symbols*.

In view of the universal difficulty of getting young pupils to use readily the symbols so essential in Algebra and the higher mathematical studies, these which we have regarded as *pictures* of beasts, etc., bearing some such faint relation to their originals as the letter *A* does to the bull's head from which it derived, were evidently designed to meet the case. The child so accustomed to the elephant symbol, for instance, that it could follow: "There were three elephant symbols, and one ran away; how many elephant symbols remained?" would not stumble over $5x$ less $3x$ equals $2x$.

But perhaps you doubt if these illustrations were as painful (apart from our theories) as I have suggested. Very well, let us hear some contemporaneous testimony. John Downes, who used Perry's Speller in his school days, noted on the margin of the standing frontispiece, in restrained language, "This picture was a marvel to me." And in "Peter Porcupine's Political Censor," for March, 1797, was published the Will and Testament of the said Peter, in which, among other items, is the following bequest to his "dear fellow laborer, Noah Webster:" "I likewise bequeath to the said gentleman citizen, Six Spanish milled dollars, to be expended on a new plate of his portrait at the head of his Spelling-book, that which graces it at present being so ugly that it scares the children from their lessons."

Then there is the perhaps not previously understood incident of the "pirated edition" of the *Pleasing Instructor*, in which the "four elegant copperplate cuts" fail to appear. Having examined the cuts, I am convinced that the pirates deserved well of their country.

FIREARMS—THEIR EVOLUTION AND WORCESTER'S PART THEREIN

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by William Woodward, April 11, 1930

Time permitting it would be an interesting and profitable study to trace the evolution of offensive and defensive weapons from the age when stone implements were the only destructive tools of warfare, to the present more compassionate era when men and nations give expression to Christian kinship and brotherly love through the medium of repeating-rifles, gatling guns, TNT, Big Berthas and those beguiling undersea contraptions commonly identified as submarines. Suffice it to say in this connection, that in due course stone weapons were superseded by those of bronze, in the more appealing guise of daggers, spearheads and javelins, during the era when that metal held preëminence in the domain of arts and utilities.

If Homer's intimations are to be credited, it would appear that most Grecian armor, defensive and offensive, was of bronze, although iron probably was used for swords. However, the usual weapons of that period were the lance, spear, and javelin. The bow was mentioned, but not often. Ulysses is represented as being very expert in use of the bow. Among the ancient Egyptians the bow was the leading weapon of their infantry. With many of the ancient peoples the sword was the common instrument of warfare. A characteristic weapon of the Roman soldiery was the pilum, a kind of pike or javelin, five or six feet in length, with wood shaft and iron head. Battering-rams were also in use by the Romans, for making breaches in walls of fortified places. Of course these types of warfare called for defensive armor such as shields, helmets, cuirasses, and greaves.

The outstanding weapons of the early Germanic races were the battle-axe, the lance or dart and the sword. With but slight variations, form and adaptation, the above mentioned offensive weapons were used by most of the northern and western nations of Europe in ancient days.

It should be mentioned that in England archers were at all times, before the invention of gunpowder, an important and sometimes

the chief force in the army. The bows used were small, about a yard in length. The sling, strange to say, was not an unimportant defensive weapon among western peoples to the time of invention of gunpowder. With the invention of gunpowder (in crude form, probably, in the fourteenth century), came a radical change in the methods and accessories of warfare. The only important weapon, not a firearm, invented after the introduction of gunpowder, was the bayonet, about 1650, used first in the French army.

The evolution of mechanism for use of gunpowder and other high explosives is another illuminating chapter in the development of firearms, for the most part beyond the limitations of this paper.

Firearms is a general term for all kinds of cannon, guns, rifles, fowling-pieces, pistols, et cetera, which discharge by combustion of gunpowder or other explosives. This form of weapon originated in the East at about the beginning of the fourteenth century, passing thence to Europe. Cannon were the first type of firearms generally employed, being mentioned in England in 1338, and were breech loading. The first projectiles were of stone.

Hand firearms date from the fifteenth century. In England yeomen of the guard were armed with them in 1485. At first these guns required two men to serve and the muzzle had to rest on a stand. The rifle was invented in Leipsic in 1498. Light hand firearms, called "petronels," seem first to have been used by cavalry, and were fired like cannon by means of a slow-match. The earliest improvement was the matchlock (1476), by which the slow-match was attached to the trigger and thus brought in touch with the powder in a small pan at the breech. This form of ignition was not abandoned until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This was followed by the flintlock where the powder was ignited by a spark from a flint, the mechanism lifting a cap from the container which served to keep the powder dry as well as protect it from wind. The chief objection to this type of ignition was slowness in operation. The flintlock was in universal use until succeeded by the percussion lock, invented by a Scotch clergyman, Forsyth by name, in 1807, and adopted generally by 1840. Anyone who may have visited the Tower of London in recent months, very likely was shown a memorial tablet honoring this distinguished Scotsman, who made distinctive contribution to arms and implements of war, his earliest invention having been a detonating powder for the secret

of which Napoleon is said to have offered \$100,000. The "Forsyth Lock," was extensively pirated by the French, for which illegal act they were forced by the inventor to make suitable restitution.

The rifle came into general use in America, so far as it could be obtained, during the Revolutionary War. Pioneers in our western wilds long had used this type of firearm.

The breech-loading rifle first was suggested in 1813, by one Hall, an American, uniting powder and ball in a single cartridge, inserted without delay and fired more rapidly than the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun. For a considerable period this mechanism did not attract much attention in the United States, for the reason that the prevailing type in the army and elsewhere was the flint-lock, and the expense of making the change seemed prohibitive. Many experiments were made with the breech-loader with pronounced success, and in due time it claimed recognition. This same Mr. Hall also conceived the idea of making interchangeable parts for guns. The experiment was tried of dismantling 200 of these guns and thoroughly mixing the parts. Then the guns were re-assembled with parts taken at random from the collection. They functioned perfectly. Thus standardization of mechanical devices had its inception a century since, again demonstrating to us moderns the fundamental truth of the scriptural adage that there is nothing new under the sun. This system was introduced in all armories in the United States. England becoming interested, sent here for machinery, and adopted the system in her factories.

The percussion cap, an indispensable part of modern firearms, was invented in 1817. The famous Colt repeater, or six-barrel revolver, was devised about 1835, 60,000 being produced annually in the early years. This phenomenal output inspired many competitors, notably, Allen, Whitney, Smith & Wesson, and Lowell. During the Civil War this type of weapon was largely used with great success.

It is probably known generally that the distinctive feature of the rifle, as the name implies, is the spirally grooved barrel, causing the bullet to revolve laterally as it leaves the muzzle, insuring greater accuracy in firing.

Gunmaking in our colonies was entirely handwork, and artisans were known as gunsmiths. Every considerable community had one at least. They were highly skilled mechanics and the product

was well regarded. But, necessarily, the output was limited, simply enough to supply domestic needs for personal defense against Indians and wild animals, and to supply food as needed. Most house-holders had one gun at least, often two or more, of more or less ancient vintage. This demand was the basis of a thriving business in private workshops. Apprenticeship to the industry offered thorough training for young men of mechanical bent and industrious habits, and, for the times, the financial rewards were considered attractive.

While these methods of gun production were adequate for house-holders' requirements, the situation changed vitally when war with the Mother Country finally developed. Immediately the gunsmith industry became wholly inadequate to meet the situation. England was the only country from which under normal conditions we might reasonably have hoped to supplement our local limited output, and the imminence of war immediately closed this door. In fact, England's first aggressive measure was the prohibition of export of firearms to the Colonies. France and Switzerland were producers of arms, but their resources were comparatively limited.

One inevitable result of this alarming situation was a tremendous spur to the gunsmith industry in this country. Towns, villages, and the wide countryside bore stirring witness to the industrial impulse. But the product being almost entirely handwork, the output was ridiculously inadequate. The steady growth of the population itself had greatly quickened demand for guns for domestic and sportsmanship purposes.

No one questions, I think, the statement that but for this severe handicap of the Colonial forces, in all probability the war for independence would measurably have been shortened. England fully realizing her opportunity saw to it that this technical advantage was duly protected. An historic illustration of this impelling situation is the notable expedition of General Henry Knox to Fort Ticonderoga and his return to Cambridge in midwinter, under perilous conditions of transportation, to make available numerous cannon and field-pieces, captured from the British and there stored, which enabled Washington to raise the embarrassing siege of Boston.

With this historical prelude or background we are prepared more intelligently to relate activities in Worcester County in the firearms

industry to the situation which in some measure it assisted in relieving.

The first gunsmith of public record in the town of Worcester was one William Johnson, in 1787, of whom little is definitely known. This may be accounted for in part at least by the fact that in those early years Worcester was less prominent in this industry than the neighboring towns, Leicester and Sutton. Leicester became quite famous in 1787 by virtue of the skilled devices and high-grade workmanship of Thomas Earle, gunsmith, whose inventions and products were known far and wide. (It is superfluous to say to a Worcester audience of this character that Thomas Earle was a progenitor of the notable Earle family of Worcester which has done so much for the city along mechanical, artistic and educational lines. Thomas K. Earle was for many years a prominent manufacturer of card-clothing. His brother, Edward Earle, merchant and manufacturer, was Mayor of Worcester in 1871. Stephen C. Earle was a distinguished architect, and his son, Admiral Ralph Earle, is now president of the Polytechnic Institute—to mention only a few outstanding members of the family.)

In Sutton, about the middle of the eighteenth century, lived and wrought at their trade, in that part of the town now known as West Millbury, Asa and Andrew Waters. Their old armory stood where the mill of Crane & Waters was located more recently, in Bramanville. Here a thriving business was carried on for many years. In 1779, the manufacture of gunpowder was begun here and samples of the product were sent to the government for testing. Asa Waters, 2nd, began the manufacture of guns here in 1808, and Congress contracted with him for a five years' term, which was renewed many times thereafter. He made many important improvements in the manufacture of guns and was the first in this country to use water-power in making gun barrels. He devised a method by which trip-hammers striking 400 blows per minute were utilized in making these barrels, which, previously, had been made by grinding and filing into form, a process necessarily slow and, hence, costly. In 1819, he patented a lathe for turning gun-barrels to uniform thickness. He saw need for a machine to make uniformly rounded ends for these barrels, and devised one. In connection with Thomas Blanchard, an ingenious young man of the town, who later became notable for many other mechanical devices, Mr. Waters invented the

cam motion for the lathe, whereby any form could be turned, an invention which has been of vast service to the mechanical world. The gun business continued here until 1845 when the government began establishing its own armories through the country and so discontinued its private contracts.

In 1819, in a small shop in Millbury, Ichabod Washburn, founder of the steel industry in Worcester, made ramrods, with financial assistance from Daniel Waldo of Worcester. This business removed to Worcester later the same year. These were the days of muzzle-loading guns and the ramrod was an essential accompaniment of the equipment.

Hon. Charles G. Washburn's *Industrial Worcester* is a most exhaustive and authoritative record of Worcester's development along industrial lines, and the chapter devoted to the steel industry has been utilized generously in the preparation of this paper from this point in our discussion.

Among the earlier and better known gunsmiths of the village of Worcester should be mentioned Harding Slocomb, who hung out his sign in the later months of 1820, at a shop a little to the south of the Court House, where he had undertaken the manufacture of "twist and straight rifles & fowling-pieces," and where he sold flints for guns and pistols.

In 1825, Ware and Wheelock, on Front St., opposite the City Hall, were engaged in the production of guns of various types.

In 1833, we might have found Joseph S. Ware and John R. Morse located in Main St., as manufacturers, upon order, of guns, rifles, fowling-pieces, and muskets. No doubt there were other competitors for this class of business whose names and styles have escaped the musty annals of this early period.

It was about this time—second quarter of the nineteenth century—that industrial Worcester began to find its place in the world of mechanical achievement. Industrial preëminence which has been Worcester's proud distinction for more than a century, here and now gained its first firm footing. And the gun business was no laggard in the highly creditable advance.

The outstanding name in the firearms industry in Worcester, known and honored throughout the world for many years as manufacturer and inventor, is that of Ethan Allen. Born in Bellingham, this state, in 1810, Mr. Allen became identified distinctively with the

arms business at New England Village in Grafton, in 1832, where he manufactured the Lambert Cane Gun, in connection with shoe cutlery. In 1834 he produced the saw-handle target rifle pistol at his shop in that village. Regarding this pistol Mr. Washburn tells this incident: "It is said that in 1835 Mr. Allen took one of the pistols to New York and showed it to a Mr. Speis, who was engaged in selling firearms, and asked if there would be any demand for such an article. Mr. Speis looked at the pistol and said: 'Do you make these?' Mr. Allen replied, 'yes.' 'What is your price?' Mr. Allen named it. 'Why don't you ask twice as much?' was the reply. 'I will take all you can make.' With this practical incentive Mr. Allen returned to his shop in New England village and entered upon his long and successful career as inventor and producer of firearms in ever-increasing number and variety."

Later Mr. Allen invented the self-cocking revolver, which had wide reputation, especially during the Mexican War and the years of the California gold excitement. In 1837 he took his brother-in-law, Charles Thurber, into partnership. Thurber was teaching in the Thomas St. school here, and was inventor of the first practical typewriter. This business relationship with Allen continued until 1856, under style of Allen & Thurber. A little later another brother-in-law, T. P. Wheelock, was associated with Allen with the firm name of Allen & Wheelock.

In 1842, the company moved to Norwich, Conn., continuing the arms business there. In 1847 they returned to Worcester, locating in the Merrifield Building on Union St., an industrial center even in those days. Here they remained until the great fire in 1854, after which they built a factory at the "Junction," so called, adjoining South Worcester railway station of the early days. This building is now standing bordering the railway tracks between Jackson and Hermon Streets. Here the business continued until 1889.

Following the decease of his partner, Mr. Wheelock, Allen associated himself with two sons-in-law, Sullivan Forehand and Henry C. Wadsworth (1865), under firm name Ethan Allen & Company. This style continued until the decease of Mr. Allen in 1871, when the name was changed to Forehand & Wadsworth. In 1883 Mr. Forehand succeeded to the business, under same style, which, after 1876, was located in "Tainter's Mill," South Worcester. (Now part of Crompton & Knowles Loom Works' plant.) At Mr. Fore-

hand's decease the business was sold to the Hopkins & Allen Arms Company, a competitor, and was removed to Norwich.

The products of the Allen Company, under its varied titles, enjoyed a nation-wide reputation for excellence of workmanship and originality of devices. Mr. Allen was a notable inventor as well as a skilled and successful manufacturer. Among his many patents was a double-barreled, breech-loading, sporting gun, with steel shells which could be reloaded at will. He was the originator, in this country, of double-barreled shot-guns and fowling-pieces. Allen & Wheelock were among the first to produce breech-loading guns (1855-58), which were adopted in Europe. The now familiar metallic cartridge was an original feature of this type of gun. These cartridges had been made by hand, both here and abroad, a slow and expensive process. Mr. Allen, keenly alive to the necessity of lowering the cost of so important a feature of breech-loading guns, patented the first machines for their manufacture in this country. The heading machine for these cartridges, which in a few years had world-wide recognition, and use, was Mr. Allen's invention. At the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, a set of these machines was shown in operation and attracted great attention.

It is claimed that Mr. Allen produced a greater variety of firearms than any competitor in the country, "from the whale-bone lance to the cheap fourth-of-July pistol, and every variety of fowling-piece." In the transition from exclusively hand work of the early days, to perfected interchangeable machine products, Mr. Allen was a pioneer. His name gave and still continues to give pre-eminence in mechanical skill and inventive genius to historic, industrial Worcester.

One of the appealing experiences of my boyhood years, whenever I chanced to journey to the "South End" of those days, was the privilege and delight to gaze upon and across the broad, cultivated reaches of Mr. Allen's noble estate on Main St., extending from Wellington St. to Piedmont St., thence along Piedmont St. as far as the present Jaques Avenue, its most northerly line, and thence to Wellington St. again. Setting well back from the center of this expansive area looking from Main St., was the ample, immaculately white-pillared mansion, embowered in a background of verdant maples, pines, and spruces. The beguiling charm of the perennial

fountain, spouting merrily the twelve months round, fed from inexhaustible sources at the far northerly limits of the city; the fascinating circular pool in the immediate foreground looking from Main St., stocked always with brilliant, iridescent gold and silver fish; the well groomed greensward, sloping in graceful lines from the enfolding elevations; the abundant, colorful flower-beds, artistically and conveniently placed immediately in front of the mansion, have not even yet lost their aesthetic appeal.

Those among you having had the privilege of looking upon this panorama of beauty, and who are now bold enough to acknowledge memories covering the intervening years, will agree, I feel assured, that few estates of Worcester's honored citizens and benefactors of those days, were calculated to make more enduring appeal to the aesthetic senses, than the finely appointed acres comprising the homestead of our esteemed citizen Ethan Allen.

An early invasion of the original bounds of this extensive estate was the gift of two house lots, with the houses later erected thereupon, to his daughters when they became the wives respectively of Sullivan Forehand and Henry C. Wadsworth. These houses are still standing at the original locations at Piedmont and Main Streets. The brick house on the corner was owned and occupied at a later date by Hon. Charles B. Pratt, one-time mayor of the city. The adjoining frame house was the home for many years of Eli J. Whittemore, a wealthy manufacturer and financier. But, alas, the on-rushing tide of human enterprise and hectic expansion has obliterated the last vestige of the sumptuous home-acres and mansion of which Worcester's citizens were so justly proud.

But, again to the theme of the evening.

In 1856, Eli Thayer, the noted anti-slavery advocate and member of Congress from this district (also, founder and builder of Oread Institute, of Main St. South), controlled the rights to manufacture the B. F. Joslyn newly invented rifle. This was regarded as superior to the noted "Sharpe rifle," which was much in vogue, on account of its rapidity of loading and the simplicity of construction. In 1859 the stone shop at South Worcester, just north of Cambridge St., was purchased and the Joslyn breech-loading gun was turned out in quantities. In 1860 the War Department ordered one thousand of these rifles, said to have been the largest order for firearms ever given to one firm in the country. For some reason the

enterprise was abandoned at a later date, and in 1861 the building was used as a soldiers' barracks. After the war it was known as "Adriatic Mills" where fabrics of some kind were made.

About this time, the records reveal, Nathan Washburn of Worcester (not one of the Ichabod Washburn family) was making five tons of rifle-barrel iron per day for the United States armory at Springfield, Mass., and was under contract to furnish 100,000 musket barrels.

Obviously, these specialized activities were inspired by necessities of the Civil War, giving definite direction to industry in general. And so we find Osgood Bradley, probably the outstanding railway car manufacturer of his day, whose name is still with us, in this connection, turning out gun-carriages at his shop near Washington Square on Grafton St.

Also, Wood & Light, machine-tool workers at the "Junction," were supplying Springfield armory with needed equipment.

Lucius W. Pond, a prominent machine-tool maker and inventor, was building light rifle cannon of which he was inventor, known as the "Ellsworth gun." This was a four-foot breech-loading rifle-gun, carrying a chilled conical ball weighing 18 ounces, which was projected a distance of three miles. The gross weight of gun was 450 pounds, the cost \$350.

About 1861, George Crompton, well-known founder of the loom industry here, added to his developing business the manufacture of gun-stocks, which were sold to gunmakers of the period. At the close of the Civil War this branch of the business was given up.

An employee of Allen & Wheeler, Frank Copeland, set up on his own account in 1863, at No. 17 Hermon St., a business destined to leave its impress upon the industry for many years. At first he manufactured revolvers. In 1876 he invented a single shot, breech-loading sporting gun known as "The Champion." He produced later a single-barrel sporting gun called the "F. Copeland Gun," which proved to be superior to other guns in general service quality and of greater propelling power. Later still, at same location, the gun business was succeeded (1889), under management of Mr. Copeland, by the manufacture of a small vertical steam-engine from one to twenty horsepower.

Johnson & Bye were engaged in the firearms business here about 1871. Martin Bye was regarded as the mechanical genius of the

organization, perfecting the early gun models and laying the foundation of a business which has been markedly prosperous. Later, Iver Johnson & Company succeeded, continuing for several years at the old location, 44 Central St. There they employed about 200 hands. Their product has been air-pistols, guns, revolvers, together with ice and roller skates, and what has long been a serviceable and popular bicycle. (Parenthetically, let me add, what may be of interest in this connection, especially to sport lovers, that Major Taylor of this city, who gained international repute a generation ago as champion bicyclist of his day, won his laurels astride an Iver Johnson machine.)

Iver Johnson Company moved to Fitchburg in 1891, where, ever since, they have had a notable career in the arms industry. Before the decease of Iver Johnson his sons came into the business to which they at length succeeded and still continue.

In July, 1862, a patent was granted to Theodore R. Timby of Worcester, for improvements in a revolving battery-tower and for discharging guns by electricity.

In 1862, Ball & Williams, in School St., manufactured the Ballard rifle, known as a cavalry rifle, which was made until about the close of the Civil War. It was a breech-loading gun, using a .42 metallic cartridge, the invention of Mr. Charles Ballard, a foreman for Ball & Williams. The company employed about 100 men.

December, 1862, records the invention of Stevens' Platoon gun, designed by W. X. Stevens, of Worcester.

In April, 1863, Charles S. Colman designed and patented a breech-loading gun.

An organization known as Green Rifle Works appears in the records as doing business at the Junction shop in December, 1862. There seems to be no present knowledge of the type of gun it produced.

For the reason that two guns of his devising and manufacture are to be found in this society's collection of firearms, I feel at liberty to mention the name of Francis G. Woodward, one of the pioneer mechanics of this city. He learned the trade of gunsmith in the shop of John C. Mason, at Keene, N. H., of which, later, he became the owner. He was a graduate of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y., class of 1839, receiving the M. E. degree. He came to Worcester in the early forties as superintendent of William A.

Wheeler's engine works, located on Thomas St. It was one of the largest steam engine works in New England at the time. Being of an inventive turn of mind Mr. Woodward patented many devices for steam engines, sewing machines, railway switches, machine tools and, incidentally, for firearms. The manufacturing of heavy iron-working machinery at length engaged his attention almost exclusively, so that his interest and attention were diverted from firearms and other smaller devices. The guns to be seen in our society's collection are the sporting rifle and a target gun, both breech-loading, with steel shells for powder and ball. These steel cartridges would seem to indicate that the guns were brought out before or early in the period of copper cartridges, first introduced by Ethan Allen in 1855.

The firearms industry in Worcester was promoted appreciably by accession of Franklin Wesson in 1859. He opened a factory in Merrifield's building, Exchange St., removing later to Manchester St. His earliest production was a single-shot, breech-loading pocket pistol, used with a cartridge. During the Civil War he made 20,000 guns for the United States government. He continued a successful business for many years. In 1889 he was manufacturing long and short range sporting rifles and pocket pistols.

In 1871, Mr. Wesson associated himself with his nephew, Gilbert H. Harrington, who had been an employee of a small shop owned by Ballard & Fairbanks, makers of revolvers, located on Jackson St. This firm was unsuccessful financially and, after an all too brief record, liquidated the business.

Mr. Harrington had developed a pronounced aptitude for inventive insight, and at the age of twenty-six had produced the first shell-ejecting revolver, which was to give him distinction in the world of firearms.

Believing the addition to his product of the promising Harrington revolver would be of mutual advantage, Mr. Wesson and his nephew united their interests in a portion of the Wesson factory on Manchester St. Needless to say, the shell-ejecting revolver became the outstanding feature of the company's products. In 1874, Mr. Harrington purchased Wesson's interest in the revolver business, associating himself with William A. Richardson, a former fellow workman in the Ballard & Fairbanks shop, who had charge of the mechanical end of the new enterprise. The firm name of

Harrington & Richardson was adopted, manufacturing the shell-ejecting revolver. In 1876 the business was removed to Hermon St. In 1888 it was incorporated as Harrington & Richardson Arms Company. Its consistent growth and its reliable product made inevitable larger quarters for development, resulting in the erection, in 1893, of the commodious factory since occupied by it, at Park Avenue and Chandler St.

Intensive application to a constantly expanding business had, almost unawares, taxed the physical resources of the energetic partners to the breaking point. In the early months of 1897, Mr. Harrington's health declined rapidly. Prolonged rest failed to reclaim lost ground. On June 22nd, he was deceased. Strangely, after lingering illness, Mr. Richardson died in November, the same year. This unusual and lamentable situation necessitated reorganization of the personnel of the company. Fortunately for the business it was favored with dependable resources within itself. Mr. George F. Brooks, who had been connected with the business in its accounting and credit department since 1878, having been its secretary since incorporation, was the logical selection for treasurer and general manager. Edwin C. Harrington, eldest son of the founder, then but 20 years of age, very properly was chosen president. John W. Harrington, the younger son, just about closing his academic training, entered the business in the industrial department, which since has been his outstanding concern, although in recent years he has been its treasurer. For the past thirty years the management has been creditably administered by these worthy successors of the sagacious, far-sighted founders.

About 1900, the manufacture of single-barrel shot-guns was added to the products of the factory, necessitating an addition of sixty feet to the Park Avenue frontage of the buildings.

In 1901, as immediate result of the company's expansion of its foreign trade, a ninety-foot, five-story extension of the Chandler St. frontage was made necessary. These additions with the original buildings, gave the company about 75,000 square feet of floor-space to meet legitimate expansion. The working forces had increased from 250 men at time of entering the new plant, to 600 employees at date of which this is the record.

In 1904, the machinery of the John P. Lovell Company, Portland, Maine, was acquired. As that company had manufactured Bean's

improved handcuffs, this industry was continued by the Worcester company. For many years these have been in general use.

The output of The Harrington & Richardson Arms Company has been increasingly varied. A few outstanding models may be mentioned in this connection: Automatic double-action revolvers; bicycle double-action revolvers; a variety of hammerless models; Vest-pocket and Young America safety-hammer revolvers (for sport uses); single and double-barrel shot-guns of great simplicity of construction. The peak of its production of revolvers was reached in 1895-1896.

During the World War the United States government sought the aid of this company for production of standard guns for use here and over-seas. These were similar to the model being turned out at Springfield armory. Large orders were in sight for the company, but delivery was required within three months. Washington's representatives were told that delivery was impossible in less time than fifteen months, so numerous were to be the necessary readjustments in patterns and equipment. Mr. Brooks' familiarity with the intricacies of the business under such conditions seemed to warrant the time limit set by him. Representatives of the war department would not wait so long, and the order was given to a competitor with, apparently, satisfactory assurances for early deliveries. It is illuminating to be reminded that as a fact the contracting company failed to make deliveries even within the fifteen months period specified by Mr. Brooks. It is now known that this unexpected but not unwarranted delay resulted in severe monetary losses to the over-confident contractors. Naturally, the situation afforded the officials of the Worcester company reassuring feelings of complacency, and, incidentally, added to their reputation for good judgment while reënforcing in significant degree the financial resources of the treasury.

This company was asked, also, to bid for the production of 200,000 Belgian guns during the war period and failed to receive the contract in competition with a slightly lower bidder.

The Harrington & Richardson Arms Company is and for many years has been the only manufacturer of firearms located in Worcester. As is known generally, constant legislative regulation of the sale of firearms, especially of revolvers, has seriously interfered with the industry in the United States. The output today is

but a fraction of that of former years. Sporting goods, including shot-guns and rifles, have suffered less in this respect than revolvers, for obvious reasons. These legal restrictions account, no doubt, in large measure for the diminution of companies now engaged in the arms business. In the exigency of war, however (which most of us are now struggling to believe is to be less threatening in the future than it has been in the past), the advantage to a nation with facilities at hand to supply the grim materials for such an emergency, would be profoundly appreciated, as we of this generation have abundant reason to know. This fact in mind may suggest the practical necessity for maintaining the arms industry, in some of its ramifications, as one of the resourceful agencies of our industrial organization.

And so, all too briefly for the inherent importance of the record, have we attempted to emphasize the significance of the firearms industry, among several hundred other industries, great and small, which during more than a century, have brought deserved fame and fortune to Worcester and to its aggressive, forward-looking citizenship. Its inventors and industrial promoters have been men of genius, of high honor and of significant leadership, of whom we well may be proud. They deserve affectionate enrollment with other illustrious benefactors of this no-mean-city, which very fittingly we have chosen to designate "THE HEART OF THE COMMONWEALTH."

JAMES GREEN, 1841-1926

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Robert K. Shaw, October 14, 1926

James Green's family has lived in or around Worcester for more than two centuries, his great-great-grandfather, Thomas Green (1699-1773) having moved, while still a lad, from Malden to Leicester. It was here, according to a local tradition, preserved in that marvelous treasure-chest of local history *Carl's Tour in Main Street* that the strong leaning toward the medical profession, so conspicuous in his family for many generations, first showed itself, from the youthful Thomas's association with a pair of British ship-surgeons (pardoned buccaneers, following the same cheerful legend).

Marked ability must have characterized this ancestral Thomas, who was not only a good general country practitioner and teacher of his profession (said to have instructed 123 medical students during his long career) but practiced the sacred calling as well, joining the Baptist Church, and in 1737, at the age of thirty-eight, ordained associate pastor at Sutton.

Thomas's son, the first John Green (1736-1799) moved to Worcester on coming of age, and settled on the famous Green Hill estate. John Green, II, died in 1808 at the early age of forty-five, but he had practiced for over twenty-five years here and during the last nine was practically the only physician in town. Of the next generation two brothers should receive special mention in this sketch: Dr. John Green, III, founder of the Reference Department of the Public Library, and James, father of the subject of this essay.

James Green, 1802-1874, father of John, Samuel, Elizabeth, and James, was only six years old when his father died, and consequently was put to work at an early age, enjoying practically no schooling after the age of twelve. This lack of formal education Mr. Green felt so keenly that he determined to do the best possible by his sons. All three, therefore, went through Harvard College and secured the most substantial professional education, as well. For many years Mr. Green conducted an apothecary's business (founded by his elder brother, Dr. John) at different locations

on Main St., which eventually expanded to the dimensions of a "general store." Under these circumstances the task of providing cultural and professional education for three sons, besides bringing up a daughter, approached the heroic, and its successful accomplishment will be a lasting monument to the father's far-sighted devotion. His mother, too, must have given every encouragement to this ambitious educational program. She was not only a member of the distinguished Swett family of Boston and Dedham, but possessed many rare social and intellectual gifts, which must have been a constant inspiration to her large and happy family.

March 2, 1841, was the date of James Green's birth, in the family home still standing on School St., a few doors from Main, but now much debased by commercialism. Passing through the local public schools, he entered Harvard College in 1858, just missing his elder brother Samuel, who graduated that same year. During his last three years he enjoyed the enviable privilege of living in Holworthy Hall, the center of undergraduate social life.

Let us, however, listen to Mr. Green's own words (as reprinted in the *Harvard Graduates Magazine* for June, 1926) as to his career, ambitions, enthusiasms, reflections, etc.

"Entering college without condition, I set an example to myself in scholarship which I have quite failed to live up to. In school and college I was handicapped by weak eyes and insufficient strength to endure the sedentary life. As we left college, the War of Secession had been going on for over a year, and I tried hard to get into the army upon the terms laid down by our family physician—that I must not go into the ranks and have to carry a knapsack. By help of the drill we had had at the Cambridge Arsenal, I helped to drill the recruits in some towns out of Worcester, but I failed to get any place for myself in the army. I was entered meanwhile as a law student in Dwight Foster's office in Worcester, and I entered the Harvard Law School, after being away from Cambridge only a term. The law school was full of many of the ablest men from Yale and other colleges as well as Harvard; and while there was a good deal of hard study in the school, there was little discipline and no examination, and life was even more agreeable there than in college.

After getting my law degree in 1864 I spent a year in law offices in New York City and was admitted to practice there. Then I travelled in the West a good part of a year, going as far as Omaha,

which seemed very far in those days, for only thirty miles of the Union Pacific Railroad had been built. Coming back to Worcester I started to practice law, and have been labelled as a lawyer ever since.

"In 1872 I was sent abroad for my health, and stayed in Europe two years and a half till my father died in the summer of 1874. I lived in Rome three winters, nine months in all, and as much more time in the rest of Italy; I went to Greece and as far as Constantinople, had a month on foot in Switzerland, a few months more in Germany and Austria, and travelled a little in France and England. All this time I was very much interested in architecture and the fine arts, and modern languages. These studies were mostly new to me, and they had a perceptible influence upon my character and after-life.

"Three years later I went back to Europe again, and spent a year in Spain and England. This year intensified my former interest in modern languages and the fine arts. Coming home again in 1878, I have lived ever since in Worcester, occupied enough in law and the care of real estate to spoil the possibility of cultivating my new tastes in any satisfactory way. As a sign, however that these new influences were enduring, I would mention that I had joined a little German club, the object of which was reading and talking in German, about seventeen years ago, and we have kept the club going ever since. I have also risen to the shining height of president of our Alliance Française and to the pinnacle of president of our Worcester Society of Antiquity, which is our local historical society. Not many years after settling down in Worcester, I belonged to the Commonwealth Club of Boston with Senator Lodge, and other young radicals of that time. I was for many years a member of the St. Botolph Club, and have belonged to the Massachusetts Reform Club almost ever since the first Cleveland campaign.

"At the time of the British war in South Africa, I wrote a pamphlet on that subject which was circulated freely in America and England, and was even reprinted by the British South African Association for further distribution. I have also written more or less of a biographical nature, including my recollections of the late Daniel H. Chamberlain, governor of South Carolina after the war, and sketches of our departed classmates, Tom Chadbourne, Coleman, C. E. Green and Ker.

"In writing our obituaries, it is usual to show from whom we are descended, and how far; so I will add that I derived from John Tilley and his wife through their daughter Elizabeth, who all came over on the 'Mayflower,' and from John Howland who came with them on this ship and married the daughter. John's manner of coming over is thus described in Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth*: 'In sundrie of these stormes the winds were so feirce, & ye seas so high, as they could not beare a knote of saile, but were forced to hull, for diverce days togither. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storme, a lustie yonge man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above ye grattings, was, with a seele of ye shipe throwne into (ye) sea; but it pleased God yt he caught hould of ye tope-saile halliards, which hung over board, & rane out at length; yet he held his hould (though he was sundrie fadomes under warter till he was hald yp by ye same rope to ye brime of ye water, and then with a boat hooke & other means got into ye shipe againe, & his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church & comone wealthe.' After I had been thus boat-hooked into the New World, I was further descended from Thomas Dudley, the second governor of Massachusetts Bay; from Rose Dunster, sister of the first president of Harvard College; from Rev. John Woodbridge, an Oxford graduate, brother of the first alumnus named on our Harvard roll; and from Lieut. Phineas Upham, who was fatally wounded at the storming of Narragansett Fort in King Philip's War. Captain Samuel Green, another grand-sire, and his son Thomas, were pioneers of Leicester; Dr. John Green, of the next generation, was a pioneer of Worcester. He married a daughter of General Timothy Ruggles, a judge and the president of the Stamp Act Congress, and the most widely known and most hated Loyalist of our neighborhood, in the Revolutionary days; while his son-in-law (Dr. Green) was a rebel beyond hope of pardon. Perhaps the most noteworthy fact about my family is this: Three Dr. John Greens, grandfather, father, and son, practised medicine continuously in Worcester for ninety-eight years; if we count in also Dr. Thomas Green, father of the eldest Dr. John, who lived in our adjoining town of Leicester, this one continuous line of surgeons and physicians ministered to this neighborhood for one hundred and thirty-five years without a break."

For over half a century then, James Green pursued a quiet career in his home city, varying law and estate management with much historical and literary study in the lines indicated above. Foreign and domestic travel was one of his greatest enjoyments, pursued with enthusiasm to the very end of his life. In fact it was in London that he was seized with that fatal attack of pneumonia, to which he succumbed on Wednesday, April 21, 1926, with his son Thomas at his bedside. His body was cremated and the remains brought back to his home at 61 Elm St., where services were conducted by the Rev. Maxwell Savage on May 18.

Ill health in early life and the consequent pursuit of foreign travel combined with other factors to postpone Mr. Green's marriage till after the completion of his fortieth year. On June 2, 1881, he married Miss Mary A. Messinger, daughter of David Sewell and Harriet Sawyer Messinger. She died on March 22, 1925. Their children (1) Mary Sprague, born June 10, 1882, married Aldus C. Higgins January 16, 1914; and (2) Thomas Samuel, born February 9, 1886, a graduate of Harvard College 1909, and manager of the Norton Company's interests in France. On July 18, 1913, he married Miss Maud C. Gutterson, of Winchester, Mass. They have the following children: Thomas Samuel, Jr., born July 27, 1914; Maud, born September 25, 1915, and Priscilla Phelps, born June 2, 1920.

As President of this Society Mr. Green served for three years, beginning in 1911, devoting an unusual amount of time, strength, and energy to the advancement of its work.

To one who knew Mr. Green only during the latter part of his life, his outstanding quality seemed to be an enviable spirit of youth. In no respect, save for the white hair and beard, did he bear the slightest mark of senility, and his whole attitude toward life, with his bright eye, ruddy cheek, firm step, and pleasant and gentle modulated voice, was that of one in early or middle life. A keen sense of humor, leading him to relieve a tense situation by an apt turn of phrase or illustration, when least expected, he maintained to the close of his life. Such a prosy affair as the reading of his treasurer's report of the Twentieth Century Club, I have seen him more than once make the vehicle for uproarious and continued laughter by all his auditors.

As a writer, his style was easy, practised, logical and direct, with

no mark of the tyro ever apparent; his words were telling, and well chosen, with many an apt phrase slipping here and there unexpectedly from his pen. Some of his longer essays, particularly the one dealing with the causes of the South African War, show the results of thorough and intelligent study, and are models of scholarship and literary style. As an example both of his facility in handling words, and of his sweet and gentle character, I will quote, in closing this imperfect sketch, the acknowledgment which he sent to our library staff on the occasion of his brother's funeral:

“To Robert K. Shaw, Esq., Librarian,
and the whole official staff of the
Free Public Library of Worcester.

Dear Friends:

The family of my brother, Samuel S. Green, longtime your Librarian until these latter years, have been deeply touched during his swift decline in health, by your gentle, patient, self-forgetful, even affectionate conduct toward him when he had become only the shadow of the man you used to give your loyal support, as you worked all together for the honor of the Library. Your tribute of beautiful flowers softened the thought of his mortal departure. In behalf of my brother's surviving family circle, I want to express our warmest thanks.

Believe me very faithfully yours,

James Green.”

LEVI BADGER CHASE

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by George H. Haynes, January 8, 1932

Levi Badger Chase was born, October 24, 1833, in Canterbury, New Hampshire, the youngest of the eleven children of Levi and Sarah (Page) Chase. He died in Sturbridge, Massachusetts, February 18, 1931, in his ninety-eighth year.

He attended the public schools of his native town, and a private school conducted by John C. Nutting. In 1857 he came to Sturbridge, which continued to be his home town for the rest of his life. September 8, 1862, he was enrolled as a private in Company F, 51st Massachusetts Infantry, for nine months' service. The regiment was sent to North Carolina, where Mr. Chase took part in the Goldsboro expedition, and was in action in the battles of Kingston and Whitehall. While on outpost duty, January 21, 1863, he was severely wounded in the left shoulder. After many months in the hospital at Newbern he received an honorable discharge because of physical disability.

He returned to Sturbridge, and established his home upon a farm a mile north of the village. In the first year of its existence he became a member of a local post of the Grand Army of the Republic, and later served as its adjutant and commander. For twenty-four years he served upon the town's library committee, and for ten years he was a member of the school committee. In 1904 the town was fortunate in securing his expert service in preparing for publication the *Vital Records of Sturbridge*.

Shut out from the heavier work of the farm by the wound which had crippled him for life, soon after his return from the war, Mr. Chase began to devote his enforced leisure to genealogical and historical studies which he pursued with tireless patience, and in which he attained a high degree of success. In 1884 he published the *Genealogy and Notices of the Family of Plimpton or Plympton*, a painstaking record of eight generations in America, and some account of the family's background in England, stretching back to the twelfth century.

While studying the archives of Sturbridge, Mr. Chase was struck by the frequent recurrence in the bounds of the original land-

grants of such phrases as "the Bay Path," "the Brimfield and Oxford Path," "the Old Oxford Path." With the enthusiasm of a true antiquarian he set to work to determine the significance of these varying names. For him the quest became for many years a major interest. As a first step he plotted out the landgrants of the original settlers of Sturbridge, marking the places where these paths of varying names were mentioned as bounds. Then, going over the ground, step by step, and rod by rod, he was delighted to find many traces of the Indians' passage-ways, now appearing in an old cart-path, then lost to sight in a cultivated field, only to reappear in the layout of a town or county road. The field of his special studies stretched from Oxford westward for more than twenty miles through Sturbridge to Brimfield. Later he applied the same methods to other towns as far as the Connecticut River at "Agawam." Not content with studies of land-grant boundaries on paper and in the field, he was constantly on the lookout for corroboration or correction of his tentative conclusions, eagerly seeking evidence in traditions, in Indian names of places and of individuals, especially as recorded in Indian deeds. He made large use of information obtained from the Federal Bureau of Ethnology at Washington.

Gradually his conclusions were taking shape, and from time to time were presented in a series of papers, read before this Society and the New England Historic Genealogical Society, of both of which he was the senior member at the time of his death, and the Quinebaug Historical Society, in the founding of which he was greatly interested. Most of these papers dealt with Indian trails. One of the most illuminating was "An Interpretation of Woodward's and Saffery's Map of 1642." These two "skillful and approved artisans" had been employed to establish the southern bounds of the Massachusetts Bay Patent. Taking this ancient map, Mr. Chase made a new map to scale with the United States Geological Survey map of the same region. Its topographical details enabled him to explain not a few errors of the original map-makers.

In his field studies Mr. Chase came upon much corroborative material in the sites of Indian villages where he found considerable accumulations of the natives' weapons and implements. With the aid of one of his daughters he made a most careful study of the remarkable Winthrop collection of original documents relating to

the "black lead" mine in Sturbridge. Specimens of its graphite, given to him by the Indians, had been brought back to Boston by Oldham in 1633, and a few years later the General Court granted to the Governor's son, John Winthrop, Jr., a large tract of land in the region of the mine. These Winthrop Indian deeds and maps (later mounted and bound in the volume, *The Tale of Tantiusques*, and given to the American Antiquarian Society by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.) furnished very valuable material for locating many places along the Indian trails.

In 1919, at the age of eighty-six, Mr. Chase brought out *The Bay Path and Along the Way*. This book summarized the results of what, in his own words, had been "a hobby and also a recreation during all these years of labor." For nearly forty years he had been pursuing those studies.

His main conclusion was that through Sturbridge no less than four combined long-distance trails composed the *Path* of divers names, blending here because the valley of the Quinebaug River supplied the only opening for the East-and-West passage through the barrier of hills; and that it was over this "Bay Path" that Oldham and Pynchon had passed, and that Thomas Hooker had later led his flock, instead of across country directly from Woodstock to Hartford, as had been the earlier conjecture. Mr. Chase was fully warranted in writing: "It is this section (Oxford to Brimfield) of the old way which I claim as my own discovery, and that no other person could have traced this old road in detail without the resurrection, in the manner described, of the records found in Sturbridge."

Mr. Chase did far more than "resurrect" those ancient records relating to the Bay Path. His extraordinarily minute study of the physical geography of the region coupled with a keen appreciation of natural scenery, his familiarity with all the bits of recorded history, and with the traditions of this section of Massachusetts, and his quiet humor, enabled him to picture with genuine sympathy and realism the life of Indians and of white pioneers, as the two races come in contact "along the Way."

This modest farmer, this disabled veteran, had a remarkable instinct and aptitude for antiquarian research. No one had ever taught him the "technique of historical research," but his methods were thoroughly scientific, and his insight, imagination, and his

patient testing of all his interpretations gave to his too few studies a convincing quality which won enviable recognition from other students of our local history who found in him a most modest and helpful fellow-worker and guide.

Bibliography.

Mr. Chase's principal published writings are as follows:

A Genealogy and History of the Family of Plimpton. (1885.)

Some Account of the Harding Bible. (Read before the Worcester Society of Antiquity, June 7, 1892. Proceedings, Vol. 13, pp. 268-75.)

Early Indian Trails. (Read before the Worcester Society of Antiquity, April 2, 1895. Proceedings, Vol. 14, pp. 105-25.)

An Interpretation of Woodward's and Saffery's Map of 1642. (Read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Published in its *Register*. April, 1901.)

Chapters dealing with Sturbridge and Southbridge in *History of Worcester County.* (Published by J. W. Lewis Company, 1899.)

Various brief papers in *Leaflets of the Quinebaug Historical Society.*)

The Bay Path and Along the Way. (1919.)

Mr. Chase's life membership in the Worcester Historical Society apparently dates from his election, September 1, 1891. He was a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society from 1889 to 1909, and again from 1922 until his death, February 18, 1931. See his memoir in *Register* of July, 1931, p. 333.

RUFUS BENNETT FOWLER

Read before the Worcester Historical Society, by
George H. Kennedy, Jr., January 13, 1928

The subject of my brief remarks this evening is one that is especially close to my heart, because it was my privilege and pleasure to be intimately associated, during the last eight years of his life, with your late fellow-member, Mr. Rufus Bennett Fowler. Those eight years, I am pleased to believe, were particularly active and happy years for Mr. Fowler, due in some small measure to his willingness to shift the cares and responsibilities of business onto younger shoulders, enabling him to give more of his own energies to civic pursuits and to the benefit of the community in which he lived.

The career of Rufus Bennett Fowler is one of outstanding achievement and honor in every one of the numerous activities to which he devoted himself. Born December 5, 1841, in Northbridge, Massachusetts, of sturdy American farmer stock of the Quaker faith, Mr. Fowler traced his ancestry back to the English family of the same name that migrated to this country in 1634. In 1861, at the age of twenty, Mr. Fowler graduated from the Barre Academy of Barre, Vermont, and afterwards matriculated at Eastman Business College in Poughkeepsie, New York, at which institution he studied law and subsequently served as an instructor. In 1864-1865 he was lecturer on Commercial Law at the United States College of Business in New Haven, Connecticut. In thus electing, during his formative years, the profession of teaching, Mr. Fowler made the same choice as numerous other American youths of his day and generation, whose names have since become illustrious in other fields.

Business enterprises in Chicago, Illinois, and Norwich, Connecticut, occupied Mr. Fowler's attention between 1865 and 1872. However his pronounced leaning towards mechanical and scientific pursuits soon weaned him away from a mercantile career; and this same talent for mechanics, in the years that followed, gave expression to itself through the many valuable and useful inventions that he made from time to time, in textile machinery, wire-working machinery and self-playing pianos. A happy combination of this

strong mechanical leaning, with a keenly analytical mind, and an ability to give always a cogent forceful expression to his well-considered opinions, provided the ideal equipment for the profession that he embarked upon in Worcester in 1881, namely, Patent Law and Mechanical Experting in Patent Causes; a field in which he served with distinction for forty years, down to the date of his death in 1921.

In the meantime, in 1875, Mr. Fowler had married Miss Helen Maria Wood of Barre, Vermont, and of this union were born two children, a son and daughter, neither of whom survived their parents, although the son, Henry Wood Fowler, before his untimely demise, became a lawyer of distinction and gave promise of continuing the illustrious career of his father.

Although he ranked high in his profession, Mr. Fowler was perhaps better known through his connection with various organizations devoted to public service. He was president of the Worcester Board of Trade in 1900 and 1901, in which position he was recognized as a very capable and efficient executive. While at the head of the Board of Trade, there was a spontaneous movement to run Mr. Fowler for the office of Mayor of Worcester, and he could have had the Republican nomination with the support of all the newspapers, but he declined the honor on account of the pressure of his private business. The only public office that he ever accepted was that of Park Commissioner of Worcester, which he held from 1905 until 1917.

He was a member of the Commission appointed by Governor Foss to consider the preservation of Lake Quinsigamond. He was a trustee of the Worcester Academy, of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, of the Worcester Art Museum, and a director in the Wright Wire Company, the Morgan Spring Company, and other corporations. He was a member of the Worcester Historical Society, the Worcester Economic Club, the Public Education Association of Worcester, the Worcester County Musical Association, the Massachusetts Civic League, the Massachusetts Forestry Association, the National Conference of Charities and Correction, the American Civic Association, the National Municipal League, and the National Geographic Society. Mr. Fowler was also a member of the Engineers Club of New York City. He was an honorary member of the Worcester Continentals.

Mr. Fowler's numerous benefactions and charities, generous to the point of self-denial and always unostentatious, are so well known to his friends assembled here that I need not recount them. Only a word as to how this same fine spirit was carried into his business dealings:

As you well know, he was for many years the trusted adviser of many of the largest and most influential industrial corporations in Worcester County. I like best, however, to call him to mind, not in that role, but in a somewhat different one, which grew out of his oft-repeated belief that a lawyer, like a doctor, must, without thought of pecuniary recompense donate some of his services to those in the community who cannot afford otherwise to secure those services. On countless occasions I have seen him give freely of his time and talents to the cause of some impecunious inventor—wholly gratuitously—and with the same zeal that marked his efforts in behalf of the more fortunate among his clientele.

In closing, let me thank you again for the opportunity you have given me this evening to pay homage to a name and career that will ever hold my deepest respect, admiration and love.

NOTES, COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

Relating to the Current Work of the Society by the Director

A local historical society, such as ours is, has no need to attempt a justification of its existence or to apologize for bringing its work to the attention of its members and friends in printed form. For two generations a small group of Worcester people have been supporting this Society in its efforts to encourage study among the foundations of the present social order, and it continues to welcome any opportunity to be of service along the lines of historical inquiry.

The particular task of such an organization is, of course, for one thing, to build up its valuable collections of signs, symbols, and memorials of past conditions and to make such collections serviceable for the purposes of all grades of research and for profitable recreation. A further purpose is to encourage the effective recording of the methods and results of human achievement,—all for the sake of a better present understanding of the responsibilities and opportunities that belong to us here and now and to those who come after us.

For the carrying out of this purpose a substantial building was provided, forty-one years ago, in a location that is now proving highly strategic. Besides this building, that is now becoming wholly inadequate for the task handed down to us out of the past, there have been left to the Society certain endowments that, including the recent generous Fowler bequest, amount to about \$35,000. Income from these limited investments, increased by membership fees from about three hundred men and women, can furnish only meagre support to a work such as we have in hand. By thrift and economy the institution goes on with such activities as our means will allow, keeping out of debt, making friends, extending its collections, broadening its educational efforts, and learning from year to year how better to meet the opportunity that is ours for a gratuitous public service.

During the past year the Society has lost from its list an unusual number of honored and helpful members. The following are among the names of those whom, since the beginning of the year

1931, we have been compelled to miss from among the friends and supporters of our work.

Mrs. Bertha Sumner Bigelow, died January 13, 1931.

F. H. Hamblin, died January 29, 1931.

Levi B. Chase (life member), died February 18, 1931.

Dr. Thomas F. Kenney, died March 15, 1931.

Edwin P. Curtis, died April 2, 1931.

Benjamin S. Newton (life member), died April 16, 1931.

G. Stewart Dickinson (hon. member), died April 30, 1931.

Fred D. Aldrich, died October 4, 1931.

Judge William T. Forbes, died November 9, 1931.

G. Arthur Smith, died December 28, 1931.

John C. Woodbury, died February 11, 1932.

Of some of these deceased members there are in museum or library choice reminders in the form of books, records or museum objects. New members are needed to fill up the depleted ranks, and it is earnestly hoped that the invitation to cooperate will be passed on to those who may be interested to aid in an undertaking that proves fascinating to those who are at all interested to think and study along historical lines, particularly local.

During the calendar year 1931, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three people, young and older, have visited our building for study or recreation or from curiosity. Some of these have come as groups from school or club; some have been parents with their children; some have been earnest students with definite problems to be solved; some also have come from distant places with ancestral interests in Worcester. All have been welcomed without entrance charge, and many have expressed interest in and profit from what they have found in some one or all of our several departments.

Accessions to the museum during the year were one hundred and forty-six, many of them of much intrinsic value and permanent interest as sources of history. To the library the accessions have numbered one hundred and forty, also of much importance in connection with the Society's work in the community. All accessions are duly entered upon the office books and carefully labeled and filed. They are too numerous for detailed report here, but the Society acknowledges with warm appreciation these various gifts, and feels due responsibility for their careful disposal for the inspection and use of visitors.

The installing of an oil heater in our building has made it possible to clean out the former heater room, and to use a part of it for museum purposes. This will to a slight degree relieve the congestion in the Lower Museum. An additional fire-proof building on our rear lot is greatly needed to make possible a better arrangement of the collections and provide for accessions that at present we are obliged to refuse for want of space.

U. WALDO CUTLER

The
Worcester Historical Society
Publications

New Series
Vol. 1, No. 6

April, 1933

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THE STORY OF A LITTLE DRESS

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, April 8, 1932

This wedding dress, this veil, these slippers and stockings and this riding whip belonged to my mother, Lucy Elizabeth Rogers Treadwell, and this wedding waistcoat to my father, Samuel Woodward. The Treadwell and Woodward ancestors, Thomas Treadwell and Henry Woodward, came to this country in the company following the Rev. Richard Mather, father of Increase and grandfather of the perhaps more famous Cotton Mather. From Dorchester in 1635 the Treadwells moved to Ipswich, the Woodwards with Mather to Northampton, and never did the two families meet until Lucy Treadwell, left an orphan, came with her half sister to Worcester, where lived her two first cousins, Mrs. F. H. Kinnicutt and Mrs. Joseph Mason. From Mrs. Kinnicutt's house, then standing at the head of Pearl Street on the present site of Union Church, she married Samuel Woodward, a partner of Mr. Kinnicutt, September 14, 1852.

This silk dress was, for some reason unknown to me, preserved by my Grandmother Woodward, née Maria Porter, and is said to have belonged to her before her marriage in 1815 to Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, a practicing physician in Wethersfield, Connecticut. Mrs. Woodward was a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards and Sarah Pierpont, through their daughter Susannah, who married Eleazer Porter of Hadley, September 17, 1761. This grandmother of hers she remembered to have seen as a child, so that, as she herself did not die until 1873, I can, as it were, with one intermediary, personally go back along the ancestral trail for 192 years, Susannah having been born in 1740.

Mrs. Woodward was born in Hadley in what is now known as the Hooker House, one of the best of the many old houses in that sleepy town, for Eleazer, her grandfather (there were two Eleazers—father and son), was a prosperous man, noted for keeping slaves until slavery in Massachusetts was abolished by statute in 1834.

When Dr. Woodward was made Superintendent of the Worcester Insane Asylum on Summer Street, ninety-nine years ago, he came to Worcester, followed in due course by his family, travelling, as all

did in those days, by stage, and, if I may be permitted to be personal, had it not been for a fortunate circumstance I should not be here now on this platform. From Hartford to Worcester was a two days' trip. Sturbridge was the halting place for the night. The stage stopped. Mrs. Woodward was wakened from sleep. A shriek of despair, "Where is my baby?" Search proved that it had not left the stage by way of the open window, but was sound asleep uninjured and unsmothered in the straw under the seats. This child was my father. My grandmother lived to be seventy-six years of age, and died in what is now my house on Pearl Street in 1873.

The maker, or at any rate the embroiderer of this christening gown and cap was Sarah Pierpont Edwards, wife of the distinguished divine, scholar and philosopher, Jonathan Edwards, whom George Bancroft classes with Benjamin Franklin as the only two of all the philosophers and scholars of the new world who had acquired a permanent reputation, and John Fiske called the wonder of the world and probably the greatest intelligence the western hemisphere has produced. She married him when she was seventeen and he twenty-four; was with him through his twenty-four years in Northampton, the six in Stockbridge, and died but seven months after his own death in 1758. To her was largely entrusted the direction of the temporal affairs of the household, and it must be that she was able practically to take the whole care of them off his hands. Household bills have been preserved and we know that her husband, who is said to have spent thirteen hours of each day in his study and rarely to have called on his parishioners, unable as he was to enter into light conversation, relaxed at times, else why twice in three months were one dozen long pipes purchased. And we are glad to learn that Mrs. Edwards herself had at least some desire for personal adornment, that her rare grace of spirit was not disjointed from a human love for the beautiful, for in 1743 she purchased for eleven pounds a gold locket and chain, and eleven pounds was no small sum of money in 1743. And we also find that Jonathan,—who at the age of ten wrote a metaphysical tract on the nature of the soul, at twelve a paper said to be remarkable for accuracy of observation and acuteness and breadth of reasoning on the habits of the flying spider, who entered Yale at thirteen and at fourteen, after having read Locke's essay on the Human Understanding, tells us that he

read it with a pleasure far higher than that of the greediest miser gathering handfuls of silver and gold from a newly discovered treasure,—that this man paid four shillings and six pence for a child's plaything. Jonathan Edwards purchasing playthings for his children, human but almost unbelievable. Perhaps Mrs. Edwards made the purchase. That their life together was a happy one, that to her her husband was as devoted as she to him is shown by his message to her at Stockbridge from his death bed in Princeton, when to his daughter Lucy he said, "It seems the will of God that I must soon leave you; therefore give my kindest love to my dear wife and tell her that the uncommon union that has so long subsisted between us has been of such a nature as I trust is spiritual and therefore will continue forever." She bore him eleven children. She made his house in Northampton a center of genial and attractive hospitality, according to one writer. "A sweeter couple I have never seen," said Whitefield after a visit of several days during the great awakening in 1740. She was a woman of rare beauty, if one may judge from the portrait, painted probably by Smybert at about that time. To this portrait a descendant writes—

O lustrous eyes so dark and deep
Filled with a shimmering haze,
O eyes that holy angels keep,
Tears into mine unbidden leap
As I return your gaze.
Why look on us with mild surprise,
Ancestress of the beautiful eyes?

As her husband's reputation grew throughout the colony, her name became everywhere associated with his, but also known and revered on her own account. With all her religious enthusiasm there was nothing morbid or sad about her own religion, and it must have been, it seems to me, a penance to listen to some of her husband's long and impassioned sermons with their terrible denunciations of sinners and portrayals of what was in store for them. For hours on end (sermons were sermons in those days), she listened to sermons on hell and eternal punishment, about that world of misery, that lake of burning fire extended abroad under us, about the dreadful pit of the glowing flames of the wrath of God, hell's mouth gaping wide open and you with nothing to stand on

nor anything to take hold of, was told that God, holding you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you and is dreadfully provoked at you, and learned that you are ten thousand times as abominable in his sight as the most venomous serpent in ours, and finally that it would be no wonder if some persons that now sit here in some seats of this meeting in health and quiet and secure, should be in hell before tomorrow morning. Neither is it very comforting for a mother to be told that the souls of certain children are by no act or choice of their own predestined to eternal bliss and those of others to eternal damnation or that as innocent as young children seem to be to us, yet if they are out of Christ they are in God's sight young vipers and infinitely more hateful than vipers. "Can it be," some one has asked, "that Jonathan would have changed the scriptural invitation to 'Suffer little vipers to come unto me?'" Is it any wonder that, during the great revival, faintings, hysterical outbursts and convulsive seizures were not infrequent punctuations of such discourses. Seven times at the very least Mrs. Edwards escaped these sermons, for seven of her children were born on Sunday.

Sarah Pierpont was the daughter of James and Mary Hooker Pierpont of New Haven. Rev. Thomas Hooker, her grandfather, was the father of the Connecticut churches. Her father was an eminent divine, a founder and trustee of and professor of Moral Philosophy in Yale. He was the youngest son of Sir John Pierpont of Holme Pierpont, County of Nottingham, England, and traced his ancestry to Hugo de Pierpont, Lord of the Castle of Pierpont in Picardy in 980.

To Sarah, Jonathan Edwards was attracted long before he saw her, writing in his diary of her as follows:

"I learn that there is a young lady in New Haven who is beloved of that great being, who makes the world and that there are certain seasons in which this great being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delights and that she hardly cares for anything except to meditate upon him, that she expects after a while to be received up where he is, to be raised out of the world and caught up into Heaven, being assured that he loves her too well to let her remain at a distance from him always.

She has a strange sweetness in her mind and singular purity in her affections, is most just and conscientious in all her conduct, and you could not persuade her to do anything wrong or sinful if you would give her all the world lest she should offend this Great Being. She is of wonderful sweetness, calmness and universal benevolence of mind especially after this great God has manifested himself to her mind. She will sometimes go about from place to place singing sweetly and seems to be always full of joy and pleasure and no one knows for what. She loves to be alone walking in the fields and groves and seems to have some one invisible always conversing with her."

Who told Jonathan all this I do not know. We only know that she was thirteen, Jonathan twenty, when he thus wrote of one of whom he says he had heard. Prepared to love the image which he thus describes, he found the image no unreal one when four years later he married her and bore her away to the banks of the Connecticut.

Said President Woolsey of Yale, one of her descendants, one hundred years later, "Mrs. Edwards' standard of Christian life was undoubtedly as high as that of her husband, certainly more joyous. She was a sine qua non for the ministerial usefulness of her husband and she undoubtedly helped his broad-looking, overburdened mind over many an obstacle on the road of life. To her by the perception of her spiritual beauty Jonathan was led as to the resting place of his soul." Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his essay on her husband says:—"She was spiritual to exaltation and ecstasy." And in a memorial address in 1870 she was called "his noble wife, a great specimen of exalted, almost seraphic piety, of great intellectual strength united to a worldly wisdom hardly inferior. She took all care of his family and worldly concerns that he might give himself wholly to his work." Father Moody of York, who had spoken highly of Edwards on a public occasion, supposing him to be absent, did not hesitate to say to him, "Mr. Edwards, I did not intend to flatter you, but one thing I will tell you. They say your wife is going to heaven by a shorter road than yourself."

While Edwards remained in Northampton he was at the head of one of the largest, wealthiest and most cultivated congregations

in the colony, but there was a very different state of affairs when, dismissed from the church after religious differences, he went at the age of forty-seven to Stockbridge with his wife and nine children as resident clergyman and missionary to the Housatonic Indians at the munificent yearly salary of six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence besides two pounds for wood. There they remained until in 1757, two days after the death of his son-in-law, the Rev. Aaron Burr, he was elected President of Princeton in his place. He went to Princeton in January, 1758, but died of small-pox in March. His widow, coming on during the summer to look after her grandchildren now orphaned, for the mother also died in this fatal year, took them to Philadelphia only herself to pass on in the autumn, seven months after the death of her husband.

Edwards must have had a practical side to his nature, although that is never stressed by his biographers. He portioned off two of his daughters, sent his son Timothy through college, supported his large family, and yet left for the time and place quite an ample estate of nine hundred pounds. Unable at once to dispose of his Northampton house he was, however, in debt for some 2,000 provincial pounds when he went to Stockbridge, where he and his family lived in a small house with few rooms and he, from motives of economy, saved for his writings every scrap of paper he could lay his hands on.

What infants have worn this little christening robe and cap? If Sarah Edwards made it early in her married life for the use of her children, there were eleven of them who may have benefited from it. If it was embroidered, as some think, after the removal to Stockbridge, where she and her daughters are supposed to have supplemented the meagre annual income by such work, it can only have been used by grandchildren, for all her children were born in Northampton before the removal. Did all the grandchildren benefit from its manufacture it was not made in vain, for they numbered no less than seventy-nine, and even if its use was limited to those readily accessible from Stockbridge, its journeys back and forth must have been practically continuous for a somewhat long term of years before, finally, for some reason, Sarah's daughter Susannah retained it and it came down to me.

The first possibility is her daughter Sarah, born in 1728, who married Elihu Parsons of Stockbridge, in 1750, the year before the

hegira to that border town. One wonders whether the possibility of being near to this daughter and another married in Northampton in the same year had anything to do with Jonathan's refusal to accept the offers of a church in Scotland and another in Virginia and the decision to go into what was literally the wilderness. One can at least understand the reluctance of the mother to be thus permanently separated from her two recently married daughters, and that her influence may have had much to do with her husband's decision. Whether or no daughter Sarah was habited in this gown, her children must have been, and we can see the eleven, prettily named Ebenezer, Esther, Elihu, Eliphalet, Jonathan, Jerusha, Lydia, Lucretia, Lucy and Sarah, in turn thus clothed. Then comes Jerusha, second child of the Edwardses, betrothed to David Brainerd, who died soon after, in 1747. Brainerd had been befriended by her father during his trouble with the New Haven authorities, and died in his house in Northampton.

Late in May, 1752, Reverend Aaron Burr, President of Princeton, made a three days' visit on Mr. and Mrs. Edwards in Stockbridge. In these three days he seems to have settled matters with Esther Edwards, the third daughter, on whom he before this time had never laid eyes, for two weeks after his return to college he sent a young man to conduct her and her mother to him, and on June twenty-ninth, one month after their first meeting, the man of thirty-seven married the girl of twenty. In 1754 their child Sarah was born, and in 1756 Aaron, afterwards Vice President of the United States, who killed Hamilton in a duel and was later acquitted of treason, after one of the most remarkable trials ever held in this country. Aaron was brought up by his Uncle Timothy Edwards, his father, his mother and his grandparents all dying in the same year, before he was three years old.

Mary, the fourth daughter, seems to have been her father's favorite. Her choice of a husband seemed to him so wise that he made it the subject of a sermon, from the text: "Mary has chosen the better part"; whether intended as a reflection on another daughter that he thought had not done so well, does not appear. She married Timothy Dwight of Northampton, November 8, 1750, at the age of sixteen, he being twenty-four, the early marriage being probably on account of the move to Stockbridge, then pending. Dwight was considered the strongest man in town, and

was said to have carried Mary, who was a little thing, around the room, sitting on his open palm, held at arms length. The only Edwards to remain in town after the dismissal of her father, Mary so resented the treatment accorded him that she never, on Sabbaths, sat in the church, but always in the vestibule, and used to ride twelve miles on a pillion with her son Cecil in the saddle, to partake of the Lord's Supper in Huntington.

Her husband was Judge of the Common Pleas, and the oldest of her thirteen children, Timothy, but seventeen years her junior, became President of Yale, as did two more of her descendants, Theodore Dwight Woolsey and Timothy Dwight. Of her eight sons, Cecil was the smallest, and he the only one not over six feet in height,—a little fellow, for one of the Edwards blood, but even he weighed two hundred pounds net. It must not be forgotten that Jonathan, the father, had ten sisters, the famous sixty feet of daughters of his own father Timothy and Esther Stoddard.

Lucy, the fifth daughter, married Jahleel Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, in 1786, and died at the age of fifty. She had ten children, and I assume that many, or most of them, were christened in the famous robe. Stockbridge was pretty well filled with Edwardses, as is apparent to those familiar with arithmetical problems.

Timothy, the sixth child and first son, graduated from Princeton, married Rhoda Ogden, and settled in Elizabethtown among her relatives as a merchant. The death of his parents in 1758 left him, aged twenty, at the head of a family of eight, half of them under fifteen years of age and the situation complicated by the care of the Burr children, also made orphans in that year. But Rhoda, his wife, was not to be discouraged by multiplicity of children, being the third child in a family of twenty-three, moving into a family of ten at the time of her marriage and having, in due time, fifteen children of her own, some of which latter family may well have been encased in the christening robe, as from 1771, the Dwights were in Stockbridge where Timothy opened the first store in the county of Berkshire, became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, Judge of Probate, and prospered exceedingly.

He educated all their children, sent through college his two younger brothers, Jonathan and Pierpont, and seems to me a rather shining example of what a man can do if he has ability and determination and is also blessed with a wife who can herself care for a family of twenty-five children.

The seventh child was Susannah, my ancestress, who married Eleazer Porter, of Hadley. She had nine children, all candidates for the robe. It was after the birth of this seventh child, in June, 1740, that Jonathan wrote into the family record of births and deaths the only interpolation in that long record:—"All the family above named had the measles in the latter end of this year." The poor man must have been in despair, with a wife and seven children all ill with this disease at one time.

Eunice, who came next, married Thomas Pollock of North Carolina and Robert Hunt of New Jersey. I doubt if the robe travelled to these distant parts, although there were five Pollock children awaiting its arrival, also an unrecorded number of Hunts.

Jonathan, Jr. remained in New England until he became President of Union College in Schenectady, New York, in 1799. He married for his first wife his sister-in-law, Mary Porter of Hadley, and later, Mercy Sabine of New Haven. There were four children.

Elizabeth died, unmarried, at the age of fourteen.

Pierpont, the eleventh and youngest child, also remained in New England. He married Frances Ogden, his sister-in-law, and was judge of the United States District Court of Connecticut. Their children numbered ten.

Sarah Pierpont had, therefore, eleven children and seventy-nine grandchildren, who may, or may not have seen this little garment of which I was asked to speak.

I was not asked to say anything of this ancestress of mine, but having the opportunity, could not refrain from bringing before you, imperfectly pictured as it may be, the lovely woman who presided over that home of little children, a new arrival every two years, from the time she was eighteen until she was forty; to whom came denial, toil and care; who could inspire Whitefield to say of her: "She was a woman with a meek and quiet spirit, who talked so feelingly and so solidly of the things of God and was such a helpmate to her husband, that she caused me to renew those prayers which I have for some months put up to God, that he would send to me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife."

One well acquainted with her said she knew how to govern her children. She knew how to make them regard and obey her cheerfully. She needed to speak but once and she was obeyed. Murmuring and answering back, quarrelling and contention were, in her

family, unknown. Three of her sons graduated from college; five of her daughters married college graduates; thirteen of her descendants were college presidents and sixty-five were professors in universities.

We hear much of the Pilgrim Fathers, not so much of the Pilgrim Mothers. It is surely not untimely to call to mind the fact, as someone has said, that these mothers had not only to endure what the fathers endured, but also occasionally and in certain instances, perhaps not in this, to endure the fathers as well.

HANNAH GREENE CHASE

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Miss Anna Theresa Marble, April 8, 1933

My subject tonight is Hannah Greene Chase, the second wife of Anthony Chase of Worcester, Massachusetts. Hannah Greene was born in East Greenwich, Rhode Island, April 26, 1824. She belonged to the Greene family of which General Greene of Revolutionary days was a member. She was educated at the Academy in East Greenwich, married Anthony Chase in East Greenwich in 1854, and died in Worcester in 1918.

She comes before you tonight because various articles once belonging to her are at present in the Museum of the Worcester Historical Society. She was in no way a public character. What is said about her tonight deals with her entirely as a woman in her home. I really should have said "lady" in her home, however, for she was of the day when the words were not necessarily synonymous. That she was typical of her time I hope will make these few remarks interesting.

Will you try to see her as I used to see her—a little, slight lady, with rosy cheeks and smooth, fine, gray-white hair, parted in the middle and always in perfect order, hair which was brushed regularly a certain number of times every morning and night, in the fashion of her day? Order was characteristic of her—her house was always in order—her life was in order. Did you ever see bureau drawer after bureau drawer full of boxes, each one containing its own treasure, each in its appointed place, which was so well known to its owner that she could find anything she wanted in the dark? That was the way a lady's possessions should be kept; and that was the way Mrs. Chase kept her belongings. She must have acquired her orderliness at an early age, for in our museum are her toys—her best doll, Elizabeth, brought from London and still wearing the dress in which she made the voyage; her glass tea set, her pewter tea set, made of such soft pewter that I can hardly touch it without bending it. How many little girls of today will have glass and soft pewter toys, I wonder, to leave behind them to museums? Everything of those days was treasured. Did you ever see a pasteboard box carefully mended with thread? I possess

such a box once belonging to Mrs. Chase. In it came, the day it was bought, the magnifying glass with which she studied botany. That was the box in which the magnifying glass belonged, and there it stayed. Botany was one of Mrs. Chase's abiding interests. New wild flowers were properly analyzed and classified; and she had a wild flower garden, carefully tended for years.

For Mrs. Chase's generation things had to be done in a certain way. For instance, no lady went out of her house without her gloves on, and buttoned. You know, when the new neighbors moved in, they could be placed socially by observing the lady of the house when she went out. If her gloves were on, and completely fastened, she *was* a lady. Was she buttoning her gloves? Then it wasn't necessary to call promptly. Did she go out without wearing gloves? Well, one didn't need to call. Also, no lady went out on the street without some kind of covering over her dress. Mrs. Chase possessed all the gradations of outer wraps from the fur-lined circular for coldest weather to a lace cape reaching modestly to the waist for hottest weather. Ladies turned out their toes in walking in those days, placing the toe first. This Mrs. Chase always did.

Of course a lady sewed and mended: Who does "transfer work" today? When the cloth on which there was embroidery began to wear out, the embroidered pattern was cut out and "transferred" to new material. All gathers were made by counted threads—over two, under four, put in the second row to match, stroke the cloth with the needle between each two gathers. There was no other way to gather.

Also, Mrs. Chase was a mistress of cookery. Here is one of her recipe books written in a careful Italian hand. What does it contain? Ninety-one recipes for cake, including Fairy Gingerbread; eight ways of making Sponge Cake; Bachelor's Buttons, Centennial Cake, Mother's Cake from an old Rhode Island recipe, and Orange Cake, a Nantucket recipe of 1800; thirty-seven kinds of puddings, some to be eaten with Fairy Butter for sauce; Fairy Omelette; Scratchback, a kind of corn cake; Brandy Peaches; ten kinds of wine. Brandy peaches were very important, as brandy peaches and at least two kinds of cake were always served when visiting Friends ministers came to supper after Quarterly Meeting.

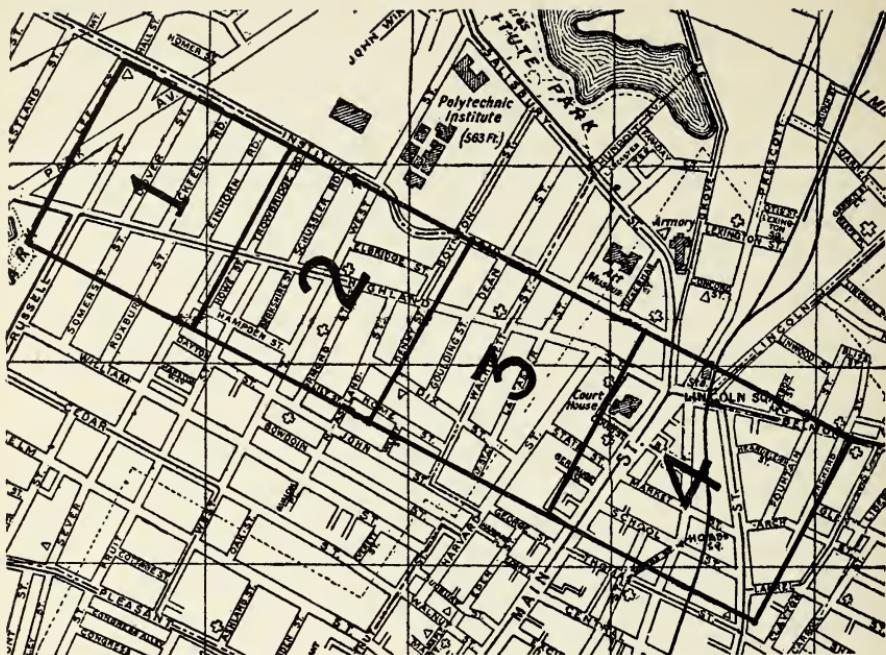
In the evenings, Mrs. Chase played games—logomachy, back-

gammon, checkers—and read and recited poetry. Do you know "The Fiftieth Birthday of Agassiz," "King Volomer and Elsie," "John Anderson," "Where has my little basket gone? said Charlie Boy one day," "Why Phoebe, have you come so soon, where are your berries, child?" All these poems were read or recited with the rhythm and justness of emphasis learned in school days and never lost. She left behind her scrapbooks of poems and stories, neatly cut out and pasted in old, leather-bound account books. Of course, one didn't buy new scrapbooks for such a purpose, one saved old account books.

Can you fill in a picture? A lady of a former day, with her neatness, her propriety, her excellence in cookery, her love of poetry.

The real reason, though, why we speak of her tonight is because of her wedding dress, now in our Museum. The trousseau of which this dress was a part was bought at Stewart's in New York City, where she went, accompanied by her mother, to visit relatives for these important purchases. On her wedding day she wore the dress exhibited here with a veil fastened on with a string of Roman pearls. The veil has disappeared. Now, before she began to buy her trousseau, she was told that she must buy a white bonnet to go with the wedding dress, because an out-of-town bride made her first social appearance in Worcester at a tea party at Madam Salisbury's. Until that important event the out-of-town bride stayed quietly at home. Can't you imagine how she felt as she waited for the important invitation? When it arrived, the bride, attired in her complete wedding outfit, plus the white bonnet bought especially for the occasion and, I believe, never worn again, appeared at Madam Salisbury's tea party. You see, the Worcester ladies could not see the wedding outfit, otherwise, and, of course, ladies always wanted to see how the bride was dressed. I wish that I knew more about those tea parties. I am sure that there was cake to eat, and I believe there was shrub to drink. I know that the ladies walked out on the lawn, sometimes to the detriment of the newest bride's white satin slippers.

And so, shall we leave Mrs. Chase, in the costume here tonight, politely regarded, certainly not stared at, by the Worcester ladies at Madam Salisbury's tea party, beginning her social life in Worcester, as she did everything else, in proper form and order.



Ting Lot No. 1 Usher Lot No. 2 Winthrop Lot No. 3 Minister's Lot No. 4

THE USHER LOT
or
LAND TITLES NEAR HIGHLAND STREET, WORCESTER,
MASSACHUSETTS

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by George W. Howland, November 14, 1930

For a generation after the Puritans landed at what is now Boston, Massachusetts, in 1630, nothing is recorded regarding the land that is the 1930 site of Worcester, Massachusetts. [W 11] Then on May 6, 1657, the General Court of the Bay Colony granted to Increase Nowell of Charlestown a tract of land of five square miles, 3200 acres, in the vicinity of Worcester. [W 13] Five years later the same body granted 1000 acres in the same vicinity to the church in Malden, Massachusetts. Also, on October 19, 1664, the Court

gave 2500 acres to Ensign Thomas Noyes of Sudbury. Within a few years several people settled in the Worcester area, and on July 13, 1674, the Indian title to a tract of land eight miles square, that is 64 square miles or 40,960 acres, was purchased by the payment of 12 pounds lawful money. [W 20] This, I think, in the money of 1930, would be at the rate of about a cent per acre. In the summer of 1675 the King Philip War, so called, broke out, and the Worcester settlers abandoned their homes, which the Indians destroyed in the following December. [W 30]

A second attempt was made in 1683 to settle this region, but as we have no records from 1686 to 1713 it is impossible now to state how much progress was made. [11] We do know that about 1700 the land was again abandoned because of new Indian outrages, and that during the Queen Anne War, 1702-1713, nothing was done towards settlement at Worcester. [W 55]

A third, and successful, attempt was made here in 1713, and we may say that Worcester's real history then begins. [W 55] At this time the General Court of the Bay Colony placed the authority to settle here in a group of men who were designated "THE PROPRIETORS OF WORCESTER." It is from their records, published by the "Worcester Society of Antiquity," (now the "Worcester Historical Society") that many of the following facts have been secured. [W 62-3-4]

In the early days of the settlement the trail or "country road," so called, from Boston to Worcester, passed the northern end of Lake Quinsigamond, [WS-R] came along a high level plain to what is now Lincoln Street, followed down this to about the present Henchman Street, where it turned to the west, crossed the Mill Brook by a ford, turned south along the brook, passing the FORT and Captain Wing's MILL; then it turned sharply to the west onto what was called the "JO BILL ROAD," which is the present Institute Road—with this difference, that the JO BILL ROAD went over the little rise just south of the Boynton Hall of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute whereas the present Institute Road goes to the south around the foot of the rise. [WS-R] The JO BILL ROAD therefore passed STRAIGHT over the hill which is now the site of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, dipped down to what is now Park Avenue, passing on the descent the home of Joseph Bill (which was on the present Dover Street), turned left,

that is, south, and by a winding route that does not seem to be clearly known proceeded towards Springfield, Massachusetts.

From the Records of the Proprietors we shall now quote, and the reader may keep in mind that the NORTHERN boundary of three of the four lots now mentioned is the JO BILL ROAD, the present—1930—Institute Road.

"(72) Worcester March 1714 By order of the honol comitte layd out a forty acre lot for the minister at Worcester with all the right in comon belonging to sd lot of forty acres whc was granted by the comotte May 20 1714 lying on both sides mill brook on ye south side Capt Wing's homestead, now in possession of Mrs. Sarah Tomlin; bounded WEST by land in possession of Collr Winthrop South by a lot laid out to Deacon John Haywood, East by comon land, a highway runing thro part of this land as it is signified in hte plat surveyed

David Haines [W 101]"

The original grant to the lot of Collr Winthrop, as above mentioned, the writer has not been able to find, but has found the following reference to it. [W 102] On page 102 of the records—"The lott following fol 73 was laid for Collr Adam Winthrop but was exchanged by him per order of comitte for ye same quant of land adjoying to his comitte lott Decr 30 1715 when the lott was approated to the ministry by order of the said comitte as in booke of their entries may be seen fol 12." Again, "(73) Worcester November 6 1714 By order of ye comitte I have renewed the bounds and markes of Collr Winthrop's four ten acre lotts & added thre more acres to it out of part of the citadel he joins on bounded North by land formerly Capt Wings, West by land of MRS. BRIDGET USHER, East by ye minister's South by undivided land as surveyed."

The writer is not certain that the first of these two references is to the lot of Collr Winthrop in the section of Worcester under discussion, but the second clearly is.

"(53) Worcester November 14 1714 By order of the honour comitte for Worcester at the desire of Mrs. Sarah Tomlin I have perambulated & renewed the bounds of eighteen ten acre lotts besides hutt lotts formerly Capt John Wings; bounde South by a highway or MINISTER'S land, tutching the N. E CORNER OF BRIDGET USHERS LOTT; bounded Westby undivided

land. North by undivided land in part & partly by mill brook; East by mill brook; and undivided land in ye platt p D Haynes surr for wch Messr Palmer & C have fulfilled the courts order.” [W 83]

THE USHER LOT [W 93]

“Worcester Decr 23 1714 By oder of the honour comitte laid out to MRS. BRIDGET USHER in Worcester four ten acre lotts, bounded East by land Adam Winthrop South by undivided land, West by land laid out to the right of Hezekiah Usher, North by land formerly Capt Wings, this land lyeth in and joyning to long swamp and prospect hill as surv

p David Haynes”

(Note—the Hezekiah Usher above was Hezekiah Usher JR. who was the second husband of Mrs. Bridget Usher.)

“(62) Worcester Decr 23 1714 By order of the honoul Comitte laid out to Collr Jonathan Ting esqr of Hezekiah Usher four ten acre lotts, bounded East by MRS. BRIDGET USHERS LOTT; North partly by land that was formerly Capt Wings; everywhere else by undivided land. This land is joyning to prospect hill and long swamp as surveyed

David Haynes” [W 91]

From the above records it appears that there were four lots, each of forty acres, extending from the vicinity of Lincoln Square along both sides of Highland Street to Park Avenue. The word “forty” is not used in the records but each lot is spoken of as being “four ten acre lots.” It would seem that ten acres was the unit of measure. The order of these lots, beginning at Lincoln Square was: the MINISTER’S lot; COLLR ADAM WINTHROP’S lot; MRS. BRIDGET USHER’S lot; COLLR JONATHAN TING’S lot.

To show that these lots lay in one “squadron,” to use the old-time word, the compass directions and the dimensions (when given by the record) now follow and in the order mentioned above. One may keep in mind that the lots were all rectangular; that two were a square, and that three of them had the JO BILL ROAD for a north boundary, the exception being the minister’s lot.

NORTH

EAST

SOUTH

WEST

Minister's lot

E 15 D S 104 rods S 15 D W 76 rods W 15 D N 50 N 15 D E 30
 (dimensions incomplete in the records)

Collr Adam Winthrop's lot

E 15 DS 86 rods S 15 DW 80 rods W 15 DN 86 rods N 15 DE 80 rods

BRIDGET USHER'S LOT

E 15 D S 80 S 15 D W 80 rods W 15 D N 80 N 15 D E 80

Collr Jonathan Ting's lot

E 15 D S 80 S 15 D W W 15 DN 80 rods *(N 15 D) 80

In order to get a close idea as to where these lots lay along the present Highland Street the writer secured the following data from the books of the Engineer of the Street Department of the City of Worcester, Massachusetts, on October 25, 1930.

Streets and Blocks Distances in Feet
 from

North side of Millbrook sewer (formerly Mill Brook) to the south-east corner of Main and High-

land Streets	180.00	Minister's lot.
To Harvard Street	505.76	-----
Harvard Street	50.00	
To Lancaster Street	284.10	
Lancaster Street	45.70	Collr Adam Winthrop's
To Wachusett Street	191.50	
Wachusett Street	40.30	lot.
To Goulding Street	244.00	
Goulding Street	31.00	
To Denny Street	225.70	
Denny Street	30.00	-----
To North Ashland Street	203.70	As near as the writer can
North Ashland Street	41.00	judge the LOT of MRS.
To Ormond Street	196.26	BRIDGET USHER which
Ormond Street	35.00	was a square having 1320
To West Street	182.00	feet on each side extended
West Street	50.00	From Denny Street to Sever

*Only the 80 is in the record.

To Berkshire Street	163.00	Street. Highland Street was
Berkshire Street	45.00	not the boundary but cut
To Fruit Street	149.00	across the lot from east to
Fruit Street	45.00	west.
To Highland Court	92.00	
Highland Court	30.00	
To Sever Street	146.50	
Sever Street	51.00	-----
To Roxbury Street	290.00	
Roxbury Street	51.00	Collr Jonathan Ting's lot
To Somerset Street	252.00	laid out on the right of
Somerset Street	51.00	Hezekiah Usher, the first
To Russell Street	252.00	owner, who died July 1697.
Russell Street	81.00	
To Park Avenue	406.00	-----
Park Avenue	104.00	TOTAL 4,744.62 feet

The following distances on the JO BILL ROAD from West Street to Park Avenue were copied from the "Merrifield Building Site Plan" which is on record in the Registry of Deeds in the Court House of Worcester, Massachusetts, by the writer on October 25, 1930.

West Street	50.00	
To Schussler Road	200.00	
Schussler Road	50.00	
To Trowbridge Road	240.00	
Trowbridge Road	50.00	
To Einhorn Road	250.00	
Einhorn Road	50.00	
To Hackfeld Road	240.00	
Hackfeld Road	50.00	
To Dover Street	232.00	
Dover Street	40.00	
To Park Avenue (estimated)	30.00	TOTAL 1,482 feet

(There is a stone monument on the west side of West Street and on the east side of Park Avenue.)

With the above data for a guide the writer suggests the following location for the USHER LOT. There would appear to be no doubt

that the north bound of the lot was the JO BILL ROAD, keeping in mind that that road was then straight. A note here on the origin of the name of the JO BILL ROAD will be interesting. Mrs. William T. Forbes of Worcester told the writer recently that about 1905 she talked with one of the aged residents of the city who told her that as a child he often played in the cellar hole of the JO BILL home on Dover Street, that being all that was left of it then. The old gentleman was living on Dover Street, quite near his boyhood home. To resume: the east side of the Usher lot was probably near the present Boynton, North Ashland or Denny Streets. The south bound was probably near John Street while the west bound was near Sever Street and ran through to the JO BILL ROAD between Einhorn and Trowbridge Roads.

The Usher Lot was a square of 80 rods or 1,320 feet on a side, though as I have mentioned before it is always spoken of in the proprietor's records as four ten-acre lots.

The reasons for the above suggestions are as follows. From east to west the four lots whose bounds were mentioned before are: the MINISTER'S lot; the COLL R ADAM WINTHROP lot; the USHER lot; the COLL R JONATHAN TING lot. The northern boundary of these four lots is one straight line which runs east 15 degrees south which is the approximate direction of the JO BILL or Institute Road. In several deeds that I have read which record the transfers of lots in this vicinity the Usher lot is said to be bounded on the north by the JO BILL ROAD or the COUNTRY road.

For a starting point in arriving at the approximate distance that the Usher lot was from the Lincoln Square of 1930 in a westerly direction one may use the data on the diagram of the Minister's lot on page 101 of the proprietors' records. There the northern boundary of that lot is given as 104 rods lying east 15 degrees south. The west side is a broken line with the part lying next to the northern side a line 30 rods long which is one side of a rhombus. To the south is a "jog" whose dimensions are not on the diagram in the proprietors' book. The Mill Brook crosses the Minister's lot and is the east bound of the rhombus. Taking a point on the bank of the Mill Brook as a point of beginning and going west on the east 15 degrees south line the distances are as follows: 30 rods on the Minister's lot; 86 rods on the Winthrop lot; 80 rods on the

Usher lot; and 80 rods on the Ting lot. The total length of this line is 276 rods or 4,554 feet. By the records in the city engineer's office the distance from the west side of the Mill Brook (now a sewer running through Lincoln Square) along Highland Street (which runs 10 degrees away from a parallel to Institute Road) to the east side of Park Avenue is 4,744 feet. In this line a point 116 rods or 1914 feet from our starting point comes near the corner of Boynton and Highland Streets which would therefore seem to be about the eastern boundary of the Usher lot. From the intersection of Institute Road and West Street a distance of 80 rods or 1,320 feet going south brings one to a point nearly at the present John Street, which, therefore, seems to be about the southern boundary of the Usher lot. Again, proceeding along Highland Street in a westerly direction from Boynton Street for 1,320 feet or 80 rods, one comes to a point a little east of the present Sever Street, so the western boundary of the Usher lot was probably near this point and ran between Einhorn and Trowbridge Roads to the JO BILL ROAD.

As the writer is living at 79 Institute Road in Worcester, Massachusetts, on a lot which he believes is a portion of the Usher lot, which is the subject of this paper, he tried to look up the owners before himself. The result is rather unusual as he is now able to give a COMPLETE list of these owners from Indian times prior to the white settlement to the present year, 1930. This record now follows;

The Indians—Algonquin race [CO]

The KINGs of England—based on the discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot. [Br]

“The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England” by charter issued directly by the crown. [BRI]

Grant by the General Court of the above Company to the Proprietors of Worcester.

Lastly, the following data from Worcester County Registry of Deeds (mostly) [W-93]

GRANTOR	GRANTEE	DATE OF RECORD	BOOK	PAGE
Proprietors of Worcester	Bridget Usher	1714-12-23
Bridget Usher	Joshua Rice	?	20	375

(The above record is in the East Cambridge Registry of Deeds)

Joshua Rice, estate of	Samuel Rice East Cambridge Registry of Probate #18754			
Samuel Rice	Jacob Hemenway	1780-6-9	83	313
Jacob Hemenway	(He willed this lot to his daughters Sally Wiswell and Molly Hubbard whose husbands were Ebenezer Wiswell, Jr. and Levi Hubbard)			
Ebenezer Wiswell	Isaiah Thomas	1802-3-13	146	510
	(This deed by Wiswell was signed by all the above mentioned parties and was given through his attorney Daniel Heywood)			
Isaiah Thomas	(He willed this lot to his grandson, Isaiah Thomas, Cincinnati, Ohio.) The details are given in the deed in		308	58
Isaiah Thomas (grandson)	William Thomas	1834-12-8	303	546
William Thomas	Levi Lincoln	1835-5-12	308	58
Levi Lincoln	Oliver Hall	1840-9-15	352	506

(This is the last time the Usher lot is transferred as a whole)

Oliver Hall sold two pieces of land from this lot; one to Asa W. Nickerson and the other to William T. Merrifield. These pieces were separated by a stone wall. From all the information received from Mr. Merrifield's daughter, Mrs. W. T. Forbes, and some people who bought lots in the vicinity about 1860 it seems that this wall ran along the eastern slope of the hill between Schussler and Trowbridge Roads with one end on Highland Street and the other on the JO BILL ROAD and near the foot of the slope so that the writer's home might have been on either piece. So the transfers will be given for both pieces.

Oliver Hall	William T. Merrifield	1851-4-2	474	190
William T. Merrifield	Nathaniel Liscomb	1896-6-2	1507	462
(By his 3 executors—see Merrifield Building Sites—			4	2 & 3)*
Nathaniel S. Liscomb	Ellen E. Liscomb	1899-4-11	1604	601
(By admx. Mary E. Liscomb, dau., surviving admx. with will annexed)				
Ellen E. Liscomb	Herbert C. Fisher	1899- 7- 1	1617	282
Herbert C. Fisher	Marion C. Cutler	1905- 8-24	1811	593
Marion C. Cutler	Charles W. Andrews	1909- 5-11	1904	395
Charles W. Andrews	Nellie H. Lansing	1910-11-23	1949	355
Nellie H. Lansing	Alphonsus T. Wickham	1916- 4-13	2100	434
Alphonsus T. Wickham	George W. Howland	1921- 4-18	2241	122
George W. Howland	Helen S. Howland	1921-12- 1

the transfers for the other piece are

Oliver Hall	Asa W. Nickerson	1848-12-16	444	300
Asa W. Nickerson	Edward Earle	1850- 7- 1	465	461
Edward Earle	Henry Gates	1852- 7- 5	493	500

*Wor. Reg. Deeds—Merrifield Building Sites—owned by N. S. Liscomb—Book 4, pages 2 and 3, shows lot 36 as containing the lot now 79 Institute Road.

Henry Gates	Luther Marsh	1858-	6-21	599	277
Luther Marsh	Elijah Stowe	1862-10-20		658	109
(Elijah Stowe by will drawn and recorded in November and December respectively in 1862 left his real estate to his heirs, etc., in 25 shares with Newell Moore and Luther Marsh, both of Holden, as his executors.)					

Newell Moore William T. Merrifield 1865-4-27 701 428

(In the above deed Newell Moore quitclaims 3/25 of Elijah Stowe's estate. The writer has not looked up the other 22/25. From this point the record is the same as the preceding list.)

After the writer had satisfied his curiosity as to who had held the title to the land which was his Worcester home, he looked up the life story of the first white person who had owned the land, Mrs. Bridget Usher. We are often given the impression in the writings of our New England historians that there was not a very close relation existing between the early settlers there and the mother country, old England. It is true that there was 3,000 miles of the stormy Atlantic Ocean between the two, but the story that now follows gave the writer at least a fresh conception of the way that one family might be tied together, though living on opposite shores of an ocean. In it one may glimpse how the New England folks still had some close ties with the homeland.

The story opens in England. [DN] In 1630 John Lisle, a barrister, an ardent supporter of Oliver Cromwell, as time went on, married for his second wife, Alicia Beckenshaw, who was twenty-five years of age. The children by this marriage were Bridget Lisle and Tryphena Lisle, the dates of whose births the writer has been unable to find. Under Cromwell, Bridget's father became Sir John Lisle, a member of the House of Lords, and Commissioner of the Great Seal. It was he who drew up the indictment of King Charles I under which he was convicted, and he also drew up the sentence of death under which he was beheaded. At the restoration of Charles II, Sir John Lisle fled to Lausanne, Switzerland, where, one day, while on his way to church, he was murdered on August 11, 1664.

It is at this point that our Bridget of the Usher lot, who was no other than Bridget Lisle, meets the first of a series of troubles that would have wrecked the life of many a woman, or man, for that matter.

After the murder of her father the family still stayed in England, though it may be inferred from a knowledge of those days that

the life of the family must have been one of intense anxiety all the time, for it is scarcely likely that Charles II forgot that it was the husband and father in this family who had been so prominent in beheading his father.

It is not surprising then to find that on July 8, 1672, [DN] our Bridget arrives in Boston, Massachusetts, as the wife of an English dissenting minister, Rev. Leonard Hoar, the ancestor of George Frisbie Hoar, a distinguished citizen of the old Bay State. [D] Rev. Mr. Hoar at once became the assistant minister of the Old South Church, in Boston, and on December 10, 1672, he was elected president of Harvard College, the first graduate of that institution to be so honored. Church troubles wrecked his administration and he resigned on March 5, 1675. The next month, April, the General Court of the Bay Colony granted to Dr. Hoar a house lot of 25 acres in Worcester. [W 23] In November of the same year Dr. Hoar died, many saying of a broken heart, leaving our Bridget in a strange land with a two-year-old baby girl, little Bridget Hoar. [SEW 1-11—note: Sew 1, 104] So, when the world must have looked so good to the young mother, Bridget Hoar meets her second deep sorrow, one which from time to time appears as a scar not to be healed.

If one now remembers that the situation in her homeland does not invite her return to the loved ones there, one is not surprised to learn that after exactly a year and a day since Dr. Hoar had been laid to rest in Quincy, his mother's home, our Bridget marries one of the leading citizens of Boston, a wealthy bookseller, Hezekiah Usher, Jr. [DNB-DN] Again trouble dogs her steps for she leads a most unhappy life with him, which, to judge from the few facts that we have, could not have been entirely her fault.

During this unhappy time came the most tragic sorrow of her life, the loss of her mother. The story returns to England again. In February, 1685, Charles II died and James II came to the throne of England. James was a staunch Catholic and determined to be an absolute monarch. His nephew, the duke of Monmouth, led a rebellion against him but was defeated. After the battle Bridget's mother, Lady Alicia Lisle, gave a night's lodging to two of the refugees, one a lawyer who had been a close friend of her murdered husband, and the other a minister who had been a great source of comfort to her after her husband's death. [DN] A friend of

the king reported this. She was immediately arrested and tried for high treason though she was an old lady eighty years of age. [DN] Unfortunately the bloody George Jeffries sat as the Judge on her case. She was allowed no lawyer for her defense, the judge brow-beat the witnesses she offered, and so threatened the jury which was inclined to dismiss the charge, that it found her guilty. The judge sentenced her to be BURNED ALIVE that very afternoon. But the ministers of the town rallied to her defence so strongly that the judge was forced to postpone the execution for five days and to change the sentence to beheading. So, on September 2, 1685, this aged mother of our Bridget was beheaded in Winchester and the headless body sent back to Moyles Court, the ancestral home which she had inherited from her father. [DN] As if this were not enough a few days later her head, laid in a basket, was pushed secretly into a pantry window of her home.

This horrible news reached Bridget Usher on Friday, November 13, 1685, [SEW 1, 104] and, coupled with the almost unbearable life she was living, must have caused her to decide to return to her English home, for on July 12, 1687, she set sail with her fourteen-year-old daughter for England. The record says Hezekiah wept at the parting, and is silent regarding her. [SEW 1, 182]

Two years later this young Miss, then sixteen years of age, became the bride of Rev. Thomas Cotton, who later was a liberal benefactor of Harvard College, over which the father of his wife had once been president. [DN & H]

In this same year one bright spot did come into the life of our Bridget. The attainder for treason was removed from her English home, and she came into the possession of Moyles Court, where her girlhood had been spent. [DN] It was, no doubt, a goodly heritage, for, after she returned to New England, she seems to have had plenty of money.

About January 1, 1696/7 Hezekiah Usher, Jr., was severely injured by a fall from his horse while he was riding in Malden. [SEW 1, 449] After a few weeks he was carried to his home in Boston, where he seemed to recover completely, but on a visit to "Lin" in July he died and his body was taken to Boston and laid in his father's tomb on July 14, 1697. [SEW 1, 104—note also, SEW 1-456] If one is interested in curious documents, perhaps one should say unique, Hezekiah's will is worth reading. [H 120-1-2]

A glimpse may be sufficient for us; after laying out his wife in proper style, so to speak, calling her in modern language "a gold-digger," warning young men to beware of her type, claiming that her trip to England was practically a divorce, he closes with these words "but, if she returns, and loves me, she shall have 300 pounds." (He left quite a few thousand pounds and a good bit of real estate.)

Soon after hearing of her husband's death our Bridget Usher returns to Boston, takes legal action to get possession of her husband's property from which she had been cut off in his will, and is successful in having the court give to her the house and land "on the common" at "Turn Again Alley," which, as the writer was walking along Tremont Street in Boston during the TERCENTENARY celebration of the city, appeared as a sign at the present Temple Place. She took possession of the property in April, 1699. [SEW 1, 104—SEW 1, 495—SEW 2, 11]

For the next quarter of a century she is one of the leading society ladies of the old Bay City, a dear friend of Judge Sewall, to judge from the many references to her in the diary that the famous Massachusetts judge kept for fifty years. [SEW 1-2-3 many ref.] When Mrs. Usher died, she made Samuel Sewall, her friend, the judge, one of her two executors. [SEW—3, 325 note] In the "Sewall Papers" which are in the 7th volume of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS on pages 400 to 408 (inclusive) is evidently the report which Judge Sewall made as Mrs. Usher's executor. It is interesting reading and shows that she was quite a business woman as well as a society lady. [W-93] This may account for having the General Court grant and lay out to her 40 acres in exchange for the 25 acres which they had formerly given Dr. Hoar. [W-23]

On May 25, 1723, BRIDGET LISLE HOAR USHER passed to her reward in Boston. [DNB] One of her last requests gives us a glance into the torn soul of this lady of the early days of the old Bay Colony; [SEW 1, 104] she asked that she be laid in the grave of the husband of her youth, who had gone to his long home forty-eight years before her. So, if you will enter the old burying ground in Quincy, Massachusetts, you may see where Bridget Usher lies beside her beloved husband, Dr. Leonard Hoar, and both rest beside his mother, Mrs. Joanna Hoar, a typical mother of the old colony days.

“REQUIESCAT IN PACE”

THE SOURCES

Abbreviations	Books	Vol.	Pages
B	Book of Noble English Women by C. Bruce		122-146
BR	Encyclopaedia Britannica, II Edition	3-4	921-923
BRI	Encyclopaedia Britannica	17-18	858
CO	Worcester County, History of by C. F. Jewett & Co.	1	Chap. 3
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography	27	23
DN	Dictionary of National Biography	33	339-340
D	Dictionary of National Biography	33	341-342
GR	A Short History of the English People by J. R. Green	4	1447
H	Historical Magazine, September, 1868 2nd Series	3-4	118 120-1-2 124
How.	Howell's State Trials	11	298-382
MAC	Macaulay's History of England	2	629 630 634 640
		4	1652 1770
		6	302-4
N. E.	New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1856	5	
SEW	Massachusetts Historical Collections, 5th Series The Sewall Papers (Worcester Pub. Lib. No. 974.4 M 414 V 45-46-47)	5-6-7 1-2-3	
Sib.	Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University—Sibley	1	228-252
Sav.	Savage—Genealogical Dictionary	11	431-432
Q	History of Harvard University—Quiney	1	31-35
W	Worcester Society of Antiquity Collections—Records of the Proprietors of Worcester (Worcester Pub. Lib. No. 974.43 W 9 ws)	3	
WS	Worcester Society of Antiquity Proceedings (Worcester Pub. Lib. No. 974.43 W 9 ws)	18	206-217
R	Reminiscences of Worcester by C. A. Wall (1877)	preface	4 20-23

WHAT AND WHY THE FOREFATHERS READ,
with a brief review of the
BEST SELLER OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by U. Waldo Cutler, October 14, 1932

The first permanent settler of Worcester opened a village school, as the law of the Colony had, since 1647, required of every established community. Thus early was it recognized that popular government without education could not succeed, that enlightened moral principle in each individual was the basis of a democratic system, that *sterling character* brought out in every citizen is the surest safeguard against treasons, stratagems, and spoils in a free state. We all know how that old law reads:

Colonial Record for November 11, 1647:

"that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the church and commonwealth, . . . it is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased it to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read etc."

We cannot help wondering, however, what preparation Jonas Rice had received for this, his *avocation*, for first of all he must have been an agriculturist. We wonder too what teaching facilities were available then, now regarded as necessities for even the most poorly equipped school room. Did little Adonijah, the teacher's son, have free paper and pencils and textbooks, regular health tests, a constant temperature of 68° and all those other so-called requirements for an efficient modern school, supplied out of the public tax? Was his scalp duly looked after lest the Indians who might scalp him any day should be contaminated? Was his play-ground properly graded and supervised? and was there a school bus to bring together, perhaps over the Plantation Street hill, the children from those two widely separated sections of Jonas Rice's promising townlet? Perhaps there were lumps of chalk from the white cliffs of Southern England and an unpainted pine board in lieu of crayon and black slated wall panel, but not even slates yet.

Coming nearer to the immediate inquiry of this paper, What home reading could Pedagogue Rice require or what recreative reading could he suggest as stimulus to the youthful Worcester minds for the sake of a more abundant life than had been possible for their grand-parents as they landed from the "Arbela," or the "Anne," or the "Mayflower" itself? *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver* were not names even to think about in the decade of the earliest migrations to our Quinsigamond region. *Pilgrim's Progress* had been in print a few years, and *Paradise Lost* for nearly a half-century, but imported books were costly, and reading purely for recreation would hardly be thought thrift or good morals in those far-off Puritan times. An almanac had been printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with some regularity for seventy-five or eighty years when Jonas Rice began keeping school, and was read to tatters before the year's end. The *Bay Psalm Book* and John Eliot's translation of the Bible into the language of the natives had somehow gotten themselves printed, and there were a few religious books and books of laws in printed form from that wonderful Cambridge Press, but these were hardly exhilarating reading matter for out-of-doors boys and girls of 1713 or 1720. Anne Dudley Bradstreet's famous poem had then been printed, but in England, and would hardly have found its way back across the Atlantic and out to Worcester in time to enliven that first generation of boys and girls here.

A modern teacher would feel powerless in such a public school room, even if a log with Mark Hopkins at one end and a student at the other might make a college. Possibly by the time Worcester began its corporate existence some studious migrant had brought to the Bay Colony a copy of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, much read in those days, condemned and ridiculed in ours, and this may have been little Adonijah's only "collateral reading" to supplement the Bible as standard textbook in that village school over on what we know as Heywood Street. School textbooks, as such, were, of course, not to be had; there were no publishers to crowd them on the attention of the Worcester School Board, if there had been a school board.

It has become the habit of most of us to speak rather flippantly of this monumental work of John Foxe, so unique in more than one respect. Many, without knowing much about seventeenth century

life or caring much about the spirit or the real purpose of Foxe in writing his book, use the fact that it was very widely read six or eight generations back to try to prove that Puritanism was cold and hard and heartless. The few illustrations in the earliest editions, revolting, of course, to our sort of cultured taste, are too often assumed to be characteristic of the whole book, and so the prejudice spreads, until nowadays the once famous martyrology is hardly spoken of without a laugh or a sneer.

A rather careful study of the mediaeval romances of chivalry, so popular and so influential in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and a deep interest in old-time legends and in the stories of the Bible, led me, from curiosity, to seek to know more about this sixteenth century book, which certainly once rivaled the Arthur Stories in popularity and probably in influence for good. And so there resulted a paper read before this Society some years ago, "An Old-Time Chronicler: Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Puritan Home." This study I did not then file with your Publication Committee, for I hoped to give further thought to a subject that I had found both interesting and profitable. There is probably no one present here who listened to my paper of twenty-one years back, or who remembers it if possibly present at that meeting of the then Society of Antiquity. While meantime I have not carried my study of Foxe very much further, I have learned to appreciate better the limitations and the merits of the pioneer settlers of the Bay Colony and our privilege in being their successors, and I now re-submit my study, modified somewhat of course, for your consideration and candid criticism.

What is the real nature of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, which everyone assumes to have an opinion of, but which very few in our day have ever even opened for themselves? Why was it so widely read in the time of Elizabeth and the Stuart Kings? Was it so brutalizing to the children growing up in the first generation of New England homes, as so many imagine? Is it worthy of any recognition by us upon whom the ends of the world are come? Can any of its stories of heroic struggle, of purposeful fortitude, of intelligent, independent endeavor for a better world in which to live, furnish any incentive to originality of thought or spirituality of life in a rather easy-going, materialistic age? Or should the few remaining copies of the earlier editions, though thought so invaluable by

antiquarians, be publicly condemned, perhaps burned by the public hangman, as corrupters of youth, or perhaps be allowed quietly to moulder away in the hopeless oblivion of a great, unused historical library?

Foxe furnished Shakespeare with first-hand material, quickened the imagination of at least two centuries of English life, and inspired the faith and sharpened the mental processes of periods when to think for one's self cost much; has he anything to say to us moderns?

John Foxe was born in the year that More's *Utopia* was published, the year before Luther, in Germany, made his first open stand against a corrupt and arbitrary church, three years after the battle of Flodden Field, only ten years after Columbus died unhonored at Valladolid. The printing press had then been even known of in England but little more than a generation; the Bible existed in no modern tongue except as a few manuscript copies of Wiclif's translation were circulated secretly; the study of Greek in English schools was unheard of, and that means that all independent inquiry was an intrusion upon the private domain of an arbitrary ecclesiastical system. Books then had to be lived, not read, for there were almost no books to be had, at least outside the monasteries. This was a quarter-century before even a Bible in English could be CHAINED for public use in the churches, only three years after the Bodleian Library was first opened at Oxford.

Facts like these show what an adventurer in the world of thought John Foxe really was. What incentive for study could this orphan boy in the streets of the other Boston across the sea find in those times that to us seem so far off? But somehow the spirit of the New Learning got hold of him, and we know of his successes at the university, of his protesting tendencies even during his Oxford days, and of his writing of Latin plays before the modern drama was dreamed of. At length his liberal opinions drove him out of his comfortable fellowship in the quiet of the university, and he became tutor at Charlecote Manor forty years before Shakespeare was tried for deer stealing there. When, at the accession of Mary Tudor, the wheels of progress turned backward for a while, he lost his position as tutor and preacher at the castle of the Duke of Norfolk, and there was nothing to do but to go with so many others over to the freer cities of Germany and Switzerland. Here, at the suggestion, it is said, of Lady Jane Grey, in poverty and exile, with

no libraries to consult, with no free press, he somehow got together material for the first edition, in Latin naturally, of his *Acts and Monuments*.

In a way much of his twenty-five years of previous study had been a preparation for this task, but a very large part of the great mass of material had now to be gotten from scattered and obscure sources as well as at first hand from those who had *lived* the thrilling history of those tumultuous times. After Queen Mary's pathetic death he could return to England, where, in 1563, he published the first edition of his book in the English language, and where he lived a respected, industrious, but rather retired life for twenty-four years longer. He was assigned an obscure country parish, but dwelt much in London, partly in "Grub Street," which fact perhaps tells its own story. He wrote one or two other books during this time—books that are no longer thought of—prepared three new editions of his *Acts and Monuments*, and left a record for modesty, simplicity, kindness, fidelity, honesty, courage, persistency, industry, progressiveness of thought, that, all together, make him almost an ideal Puritan at a time when that name was just beginning to stand for a definite type of pioneer through a wilderness section of our race's intellectual progress. He was devoted to his family, a lover of his fellow men, a strong supporter of virtue and justice, upright always, human and humane. To say that he was a lover of dogs adds a touch of nature that makes us sure of his kinship to other flesh-and-blood strugglers of his own and later times. In the life he chose for himself he followed no easy path, but what he believed to be the right one. He had opinions, and we should not respect him if he had not; he did not know toleration in the modern sense, no one then did, but he could hardly have been allowed existence anywhere in that sixteenth century, if he had preached or practiced toleration. There was no such thing then, and the new life and purpose and ideals of those strong days could not have asserted themselves along any half-hearted, moderate lines. Henry Morley says: "To a right student the value of such a book (as Foxe's) is rather increased than lessened by the inevitable bias of a writer who recorded incidents that had for him a deep, real, present interest, and who had his own part in the passion of the controversy he described."

We must judge him by his own age, not by ours. For his time

he was quite as tolerant as you and I like to think ourselves now. In our time he would be a different sort of person, no doubt, from the one we see on the pages of Elizabethan history, but yet the same, in that he was and would now be in the advance guard of thought and morals. The year of the first English edition of the *Book of Martyrs* was the year of the end of the long Council of Trent, which closed with the Catholic Church's anathemas upon all heretics. For his own time Foxe was a man of moderate views, and not strongly partisan. If he had been, he would not have remained the life-long friend of the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, attending him to his execution as a traitorous plotter with Mary Stuart for the overthrow of the government. He was no recluse, and made and kept friendships among the most active men of those stirring times. John Cheke, Hugh Latimer, and William Tyndal were fellow students. Burleigh, Walsingham, Sir Francis Drake, the Earl of Warwick were among his intimates. He is mentioned as one of the earliest students of Anglo-Saxon in modern times, but in the confusion of his environment it is hard to see how he found the leisure for the cultivation of purely abstract tastes.

The *Book of Martyrs* seems to have met with popular favor upon its first appearance. The second edition (of 1570) was by royal decree placed for public reading, chained of course, in all cathedral churches, and many parish churches followed suit voluntarily. Besides the four editions demanded before the author's death, in 1587, (the first three in black letter type, the fourth only in Latin characters), a fifth was issued nine years later. In spite of Archbishop Laud's official disapproval in the days of Charles I, four editions were called for during the next century, the century of the migrations to New England, folios like the five of the earlier century, and all furnished with gruesome woodcuts, "embellished with forty elegant copperplates," says the New York edition of 1794, "embellished with superb engravings" reads the title-page of one of the still more modern editions (of 1813). Throughout the period of predominant Puritan influence this popularity continued. Only in later years, when people incapable of idealization or quite given over to prejudice, try to cast reproach upon a class who by their force of character and uprightness of life were able to arrest the narrowing trend of scholarship—only in such days is it necessary to defend this extraordinary work of old John Foxe from popular detraction and ridicule.

As literature pure and simple we no longer need it as it was needed back in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As literature it did its best service before the days of the novel and the romantic poem. It gained its foothold before there was even the romantic drama. England's young people had to wait one hundred and fifty years after Foxe appeared for *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver*, yet the thirst for mental and emotional stimulus was strong then, as now, since Puritan youth was intensely human. Foxe's stories of heroism doubtless stirred the souls of boys and girls in Tudor and Stuart days much as Sir Philip Sidney, just before, had said his soul was stirred by the old ballad of Chevy Chase, "as by the sound of a trumpet."

But Foxe's book was more than mere literature then—it was a book of patriotic loyalty and of religious devotion as well, when loyalty and religion were one. With true Puritan intensity it supported those ideas that were the basis of Elizabeth's claim to the English throne. If separation from Rome was not right, then Henry the Eighth's marriage with Elizabeth's mother was wrong, and the Stuarts would have been England's rightful rulers. As a handbook of religion also the *Book of Martyrs* was no less significant, defending as it did in long, now almost unreadable, arguments the principles of Protestant creed and polity. Foxe's motive in writing was, of course, to denounce Catholicism, but that in his day was good patriotism. As a patriot some have thought him too zealous, but tremendous wrenches were necessary to throw the social wheels out of the intolerable rut into which they were sunken. In accomplishing his task Foxe employed a picturesqueness of style that in part accounts for his popularity before modern ideas of simplicity came into vogue. Moreover his narratives are based on personal statements of the martyrs themselves, in many cases, or of their immediate friends, and so possess a unique value as showing the social customs and ways of thinking of his own time. Still further he quotes extensively from invaluable historical sources since lost, so that his book has great importance as a storehouse of historical material. But perhaps its highest value lay then, and still lies, in its fundamental principle that each individual has a personal responsibility for his thought and conduct that no human power can relieve him from or deprive him of. Consequently all governments must see to it that their laws are founded upon principles

of justice and truth, and all churches must recognize that creeds can not be permanently established through persecution or arbitrary dogmas.

The psychology of persecution it is hard for us nowadays to understand. Perhaps there entered into it something of the instinct of the brutes to inflict physical pain for its own sake—an impulse going far back in the story of evolution, and already only rudimentary when the human race appeared, and assumed responsibility for more than a brute existence. Now and then, by the working of some obscure law of atavism, in any age there may crop out individual traces of this purely animal trait, ages ago sloughed off by our race as a whole. Even today this pre-ancestral characteristic now and then manifests itself, and to an alarming extent. In the evolution of the *intellectual* man also there seems to have been a stage of development when the only way to deal with a supposed error of opinion was to torture or kill the person holding that error. This stage also in the ascent of man the party to which Foxe belonged had largely outgrown before his day. The reformed churches in general did not persecute for religious opinion's sake to the extent of burning, and did not continue very long any religious persecution of a physical, bodily sort. Foxe's interest in his subject gives no suggestion of animal-like gloating over pain inflicted. His stories held the attention because of the high adventure, the noble bearing, the undaunted principle of those knights and ladies who were engaged in encounters where the rewards were far more exalted than those of chivalrous tournaments. It is said that Cervantes, in *Don Quixote*, thirty years after Foxe died, laughed the romances of chivalry out of existence. May it not better be said that the *Book of Martyrs* replaced them by true stories of adventure quite as suitable for household use, quite as thrilling, quite as worthy to endure, quite as capable—if rightly told and adapted to later conditions—of forming character upon worthy lines?

And the much condemned pictures—what can be said of them? As a matter of fact, good or bad, Foxe is not responsible for many of them. Most of them have been introduced only in later editions. But whether of Foxe's choice or the choice of another, no one defends them as works of art. Foxe was contemporary with the greatest painters the world has known. I wish he might have seen

Michael Angelo's *Last Judgment*, finished only ten or fifteen years before Foxe and his associates were driven to the Continent for safety. But he was too poor to cross the Alps, and if he had done so, Rome was no safe place for such as he. As to the moral effect of Foxe's prints, however, (the point most often called in question), I am not sure that they have been in their way any more mischievous than have some of the famous paintings of Reubens, who was born five or six years after Foxe's book was first chained in the cathedrals of England that all might read it.

Such then is the very popular book that may have served Mr. Schoolmaster Rice as mental stimulus for the rising generation of first settlers in Worcester. It is no wonder that it was more widely read than any other except the Bible. It is no wonder, as Green's *Short History of the English People* implies, that it passed from public reading in the churches to careful perusal and free discussion by the fireside. It is no wonder that it came across the Atlantic to find goodly place in the homes of early New England. Perhaps the fact of its general reading accounts for the tattered condition of most of the old copies and for the entire absence of whole volumes of sets. For instance, the American Antiquarian Society Library has, or had at the time of this study, one volume each of two sets of one of the earliest editions (that of 1583, as given in the Catalogue of 1837). There is no perfect copy of the first edition known to exist. In the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society the edition of 1632 is represented by only the first volume, ending with the time of Henry VII. One wonders whether in just those days when Archbishop Laud was resisting its popular influence, the completion of the publisher's plan was prevented by the arbitrary censorship of the press, only about a decade before Milton's *Ariopagitica, a Plea for Unlicensed Printing*, appeared. What entered so largely into the past of English speaking people forms no unworthy part of that composite we call the Present, which is "the sum of all man ever was and all man ever did." To know this whole, root and all, we need to know the component parts. We cannot, then, laugh away the tremendous influence of "gentle" old John Foxe.

The *Book of Martyrs* was not among the early issues of the press in America. Before Franklin's time the only reprints of English books were Baxter's *Call* (1702) and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*

(1706). Dr. Dexter's catalogue of Elder Brewster's library contains no mention of Foxe, and his book is not mentioned in the Mather list nor in that of Governor Thomas Dudley nor among those given by John Winthrop to Harvard College. I spent some time trying to discover whether a copy was included among the 440 books that John Harvard bequeathed to his college, but apparently all means for obtaining a complete list of that historic library disappeared, with all but one of the volumes, in that unfortunate fire back in the eighteenth century. Our own American Antiquarian Library has a perfect set of the ninth edition (1641), three volumes. The copy of this same edition which was Bunyan's solace in the county jail at Bedford, marked on each title-page with the prisoner's verified autograph and the date, 1662, was, twenty-two years ago, offered for sale in order to raise funds for the prevention of foreclosure of a mortgage on the valuable Bedford Library. It had been valued at \$40,000. A Worcester citizen at that time, it may be well known, made an offer of \$1,000, which, it is needless to say, was not accepted; but the Heart of the Commonwealth, that boasted not a single white man when Foxe died, may well have craved the distinction of possessing a book that was doubly so distinguished. The early editions were as follows: 1559, Latin; 1563, 1570, in two volumes each; 1576; 1583; 1596; 1610; 1618; 1632; 1641; 1684; all folios. All after the first were in two or in three volumes.

Foxe is mentioned among the ninety books in Michael Wigglesworth's library, and in Robert C. Winthrop's *Life of Governor Winthrop*. Henry Browne, grandfather of Governor Winthrop, is quoted as writing to his son-in-law, "I praye you send me my boke of Martyrs." Undoubtedly it figured largely in numberless similar Puritan and Colonial homes, but I have wondered at its very infrequent mention by American historians of the period. As a matter of fact this whole subject of Colonial libraries and the reading matter at the command of the first two generations of New Englanders seems as yet to have been but imperfectly covered by students. Our own general library, rather largely the collection of Rev. George Allen, contains three different abridgements and adaptations of this historic old book, dating from 1813, 1830, and 1850, all duly "embellished" with hideous woodcuts.

Franklin P. Dexter, in an interesting paper, published in Vol.

XVIII, New Series, p. 135, of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, "Early Private Libraries in New England," says: "For New England the fact remains, and can hardly be stated too baldly, that the early settlers and their children lived without the inspiration of literature. It was 'plain living and high thinking,' and that their lives and their work were worthy of reverence is all the more to their credit." It would be interesting for us members of this Society to make notes upon any inventories of old estates we chance upon in our reading with this matter of books in Colonial homes in mind, and to combine our data for some future paper. Dr. Dexter mentions some early items of this sort—for instance: In the list of the estate of John Wakeman of New Haven is the item, "three shirts and some old books, 15 shillings"; Nathaniel Bowman of Wethersfield,—"Books, bottles and odd things, 12 shillings"; etc.

This fact also, it seems to me, should be recognized, that reading purely for recreation was hardly in keeping with Puritan ideas or Puritan moral principles. The Almanac was all right for information in ordering the daily work. Sermons and other religious books were more freely put out by the American Press than any other, for they were supposed to contribute to the higher life and spiritual culture; but recreation as such was hardly known to our Colonial forebears.

There have been many attempts to abridge Foxe, but none of them seem very satisfying to the modern taste. Some one might well prepare for present-day use a new condensed edition of readable size, and without the old illustrations, a book that will give, by introduction and notes and extracts, what I have very briefly tried to do in this paper—some adequate impression of the thrilling effect upon earlier generations produced by Foxe's picturesque narratives, and some adequate impression also of our own twentieth century debt to this industrious, forward-looking writer of three hundred and twenty-five years ago.

In conclusion, then, what did the forefathers read? They certainly did not read many books. Books were a rare commodity, and if libraries, public or private, had been available, time was lacking for their use. And if or as they had a little leisure, they had definite and rather unmodern ideas about the best use of it. What they read was *life* itself, at first hand, great volumes of it, and

there is abundant evidence that they profited by this sort of education. The few books they had they *used*. Our Society's collection of early Almanacs gives good evidence of this, as does our collection of old Family Bibles. What they learned in the hard school of experience they *knew* and could apply toward their daily needs. Our collections of early tools give proof of their ingenuity, their command of themselves and of such natural resources as they yet understood—their power to progress in knowledge of the facts of life and in appreciation also of the higher interests of their community.

I am not attempting any apology for the crudeness, the incompleteness, the narrowness if you insist upon it, of the newly-come Caucasians on Worcester territory. I am only recognizing that the fundamental qualities in a free and responsible citizenship are much the same in all periods and are not dependent upon labor-saving devices or patented jimecracks or copyrighted literary novelties. Quite possibly it was well that Dominie Rice had few books at his command. *Schooling* may involve *extensive* reading; *education* certainly involves reading some things *intensively*. The culture of the earlier generations consisted largely in a thorough knowledge of the Bible and perhaps a few other books auxiliary to it. And along with this exact mental training came the establishment of high moral standards that are fundamental for a self-governing people in any age.

Some books well read are more likely to result in education than many only carelessly read. (This was written before I saw the article in the October *Atlantic*, "Too Many Books.") History is not a dead thing out of the more or less distant past. History is a living and vital part of the present. Old books sometimes seem dead as a door nail. Contact with a receptive mind may show them to be potent still for good or ill. History, teaching as it does by examples, may serve to enlighten quite as effectively as many *modern* instances. Perhaps a few days in Jonas Rice's school might be very wholesome for us of the easy-going, lavish Present. We are *schooled* too much; are we really being *educated* in the very essentials of an honest, dependable, self-controlled, law-abiding, forward-looking existence together as a socialized community? If my question does not answer itself, I leave it unanswered.

WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Z. W. Coombs, March 11, 1932

William Trowbridge Forbes was born in Westborough, Massachusetts, May 21, 1850, and died in Worcester, November 8, 1931. He was the son of Ephraim and Catherine (White) Forbes. Preparing for college in the schools of his native town, he entered Amherst College at the age of seventeen, graduating with the Class of 1871. His college course was marked by distinguished scholarship. He won prizes in mathematics and in German. In outside activities he was a leader, serving as class historian, as editor of the college paper, the *Amherst Student*, and rowing on his class crew in the regatta of 1870.

On graduation, Judge Forbes went to Turkey and spent three years as instructor in mathematics in Robert College, Constantinople. Here he became profoundly interested in the sociological, racial, and historical features of Turkey and of the smaller adjacent nations, as well as in their politics. Of the conditions in these Balkan states he made profound studies, became an authority on them, and gained an interest in them that he never lost. He traveled extensively in that part of the world, and, at one time, in coöperation with President Washburn, of Robert College, made a geological survey of the region, collecting over 2000 fossil specimens, which were exhibited at the Vienna Exposition of 1874, and attracted much attention.

Returning to this country Judge Forbes came to Worcester and studied law in the office of Bacon, Hopkins and Bacon, the leading law firm of that day in Worcester County. After his admission to the bar he practised for some years in his native town of Westborough. Already he had been appointed justice of the First Eastern District of Massachusetts, while yet a law student, and he held this office for three years, resigning in 1879. Meanwhile he had represented Westborough in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1881 and 1882, and had served two terms in the State Senate, in 1886 and 1887.

Judge Forbes was appointed Judge of the Court of Probate and Insolvency for Worcester County in 1888. He was then thirty-

eight years old. He had already gained a high reputation as a lawyer, and this reputation was to be greatly enhanced during his thirty-seven years of service on the bench. He resigned as Judge of Probate in 1925, retiring that he might devote his remaining years to the general practice of the law for which he was so eminently fitted, and which held so strong a fascination for him. With his son-in-law, Linwood M. Erskine, Esq., under the name of Forbes and Erskine, he continued this practice until his death. He had secured the right to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States, and before that exalted tribunal he argued one of the most important cases that ever originated in Worcester County. This was the famous Worcester County National Bank case, involving the right of a national bank to act as a trustee and executor. In this case, Judge Forbes was associated with Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War.

In the cases that came before him as Judge of Probate, Judge Forbes was an authority. These had to do with wills, estates, divorces, etc. His broad training, his human sympathy, his service in the Legislature, his long experience as lawyer and judge, had given him exceptional preparation. He was ranked among the highest in his decisions on these matters, his advice was constantly sought, his decisions were rarely appealed, and were almost never reversed by the higher court.

Notable as were the services and accomplishments of Judge Forbes in his chosen profession, they by no means cover the many activities of the man. He traveled extensively in Europe, in the Near and the Far East, and was frequently called upon to lecture on his experiences in these travels. But in the city of his adoption his interest in matters civic, literary, historical, financial, was strong, his zeal untiring. He had served as President of the Central Association of Amherst Alumni, as President of the Rufus Putnam Association, of the Worcester Shakespeare Club, of the Worcester Economic Club, of the Worcester Congregational Club. He had been a member of the Worcester Parks and Recreation Commission, where his skill in gardening and horticulture had had free play. He was a member of the American Antiquarian Society, of the Worcester Historical Society, of the Westborough Historical Society, of the Worcester County Horticultural Society, of the Worcester Rotary Club. He had been a Vice-President of the

Peoples Savings Bank of Worcester, a member of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission, a Trustee of the Worcester Free Public Library, of Leicester Academy, of St. Vincent's Hospital. He had served as Vice-President of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, on the Advisory Board of the Worcester Animal Rescue League, as a Director of the Worcester Associated Charities, of the Memorial Home for the Blind, of the Home for Aged Men, as President of the Rural Cemetery Association, as Historian of the Sons of the American Revolution, as Trustee of the Worcester Natural History Society, and of the Worcester Art Museum. A Congregationalist in religion he was a member of Union Church and served that church faithfully in many capacities. He belonged to many strictly social organizations, and the beautiful grounds of the Tatnuck Country Club owe much to his skill, his care, and his interest. And with all these activities, in connection with organizations so varied in nature, he found time to draw up numerous laws which were enacted by the Legislature, relating especially to the incorporation of churches, the settlement of estates, the disposition of property, corporations, and to probate practice in general. Moreover, he found time to write a history of his native town, Westborough, and many historical papers on different topics.

Bred to the law, a jurist of high repute, a historian and antiquarian by taste and by inclination, deeply interested and profoundly versed in natural history, in art, in matters educational, in economics, in literature, in social and charitable undertakings, in politics, Judge Forbes essayed in many fields and in each he did outstanding work, making real and lasting contributions. His youthful interest and exuberance never left him. To his hosts of friends he was a companion, charming in conversation, genial and entertaining, an encyclopedia of information on every subject, of buoyant, almost exuberant, spirits. On the bench, the even-minded and even-tempered interpreter of the law in the intricacies of probate practice, he showed a marvellous insight into the perplexing problems that came up before him, a consummate skill in analyzing and deciding the endless questions that crowded the docket of his court. Many a married pair appearing before him, and bent on severing the marital tie, under his wise and kindly and fatherly counsel left the court room, repentant of the misunder-

standings, determined to forget their differences and to begin a new life based on mutual trust and forbearance, and grateful to him for his advice.

All the world was his domain, his fellow men and women, his friends, and they it was who formed for him the most interesting objects of study. But he loved Nature, too, the great outdoors, the flowers, the fruits, that Nature yields to skilful care. This care, this skill he possessed, and many an arid spot bloomed under his expert and loving attention. Of himself he gave the best and without stint to every good cause, and all who came within his wide influence mourn his passing from among us. But we who are left look back upon his many years of useful activity, upon his contribution which has made the world so richly more worth the living, and we rejoice in the privilege that has been ours, to know him, to come within his influence, to enjoy him. And we shall carry on through the years yet remaining to us those pleasant memories of the man, our friend, of what he was, of what he did, of what he strove to do, whereby the world was made better and more cheerful, "memories that shall not be blotted out."

MEMORIAL
OF
COL. T. S. JOHNSON

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Dr. George E. Wire, February 8, 1929

Colonel Johnson was born July 1, 1843, in Dana and died here in Worcester, January 21, 1927, thus rounding out nearly eighty-five years of life very largely in this community. His earliest ancestor on this soil was Solomon Johnson who settled in Massachusetts prior to 1639. He was born on his father's farm in Dana, the third in a family of three, two boys and one girl, his father being Theodore Wilder Johnson and this boy carrying his name Theodore. His mother was Emily S. Johnson and he evidently got the S. in his name from her. His father's farm bordered on Pottapaug Pond, or lake, in that ill-fated territory doomed to be a water reservoir for the benefit of Boston. In his later life Colonel Johnson bought up this property and established a commodious camp on the border of the pond where he was wont to dispense old-fashioned hospitality to his friends.

The old homestead stood on the county road just opposite the private road leading in to the camp. His father sent him to the Petersham High School and to Wilbraham Academy and he was a graduate of both these institutions. He always remembered his instructors, particularly Dr. Miner Raymond who was at the head of Wilbraham at that time. In my old home town, Evanston, Illinois, I knew Dr. Raymond for years as a near neighbor.

Colonel Johnson studied law in the law offices of Dewey and Williams, two well-known members of the Worcester bar. Admitted to the bar in 1866, when he was twenty-three years old, he went outside of Worcester and opened a law office in Blackstone. In the next year, 1867, he was appointed trial justice and held that office until 1871 when he was appointed Judge of the Municipal Court of Worcester.

In April, 1873, he married Melvina Allen, daughter of Amos Allen of Blackstone, who died a few years ago. They had no children. In 1881 on the establishment of the Central District Court, Colonel Johnson was appointed clerk and served there until

he was appointed clerk of courts in that very year, 1881, serving in that office until his retirement on pension in 1923, a period of forty-two years. So much for his official life of which much more might be written.

His military title came from being appointed on the staff of Governor Talbot in 1878. Much might be written of his political life for he was a power, in fact *the* power, in county politics for years. He always remembered his friends and was a politician of the old school. Personally, as many of you will remember, he was a magnificent figure, fully six feet tall, of good physique, did not accumulate fat as he grew older, and to the day of his death was active and able to be around, mind as keen as ever.

In his later life he became a director in the Quinsigamond National Bank, and after that was absorbed into other banks, Colonel Johnson served on the Board of Directors of the Merchants National Bank, now the Worcester County National Bank, also the Five Cents Savings Bank. He also handled some large estates, particularly that of his friend, Mr. M. V. B. Jefferson.

He was fond of outdoor life and his devotion to it probably much prolonged his life. I remember of his telling me of his hunting trips West and South, and he was proficient with both rifle and shotgun, and at one time he engaged in fencing and became an adept at the foils. In his later life he was given to fishing at his summer camp on Lake Pottapaug. When I came here in 1898 to take charge of the Worcester County Law Library I remember he drove a fine horse and was a great lover of horses. As time went on he used to own a White Steamer and did as long as these cars were made. One of the prized pictures in his office was a large framed photograph, taken on the road to Millbury, of President Taft and his escort in the Colonel's car. At that time the President would ride in nothing but a White Steamer, and as Colonel Johnson possessed the only one in Worcester he was honored by having it used by the President.

Colonel Johnson was for years a member of this society, and, like many others, probably did not take much if any active part in its affairs. His real part in local history was of course his work as clerk of courts for over forty years. The records of his office were all well and truly kept and so far as the law allows were open to the inspection of persons for necessary information. Perhaps we

do not always realize the value of these public records at the Court House and City Hall until some time we want something of them and want it bad. We are inclined to forget that through all these years some one or several people from generation to generation have been accurately and faithfully keeping these records. The records of 1732 and succeeding, in the clerk's office and the Registry of Deeds, are almost in constant demand now, two hundred years later.

Colonel Johnson, in his Bowdoin Street home, had a large room on the main floor fitted up as his library and its walls were and are at the time of writing and presenting of this paper, lined with well-filled bookcases. He picked up many a scarce and rare old volume, and in his library there are one or two items of the Isaiah Thomas press which are unique; one of them I believe is the only known copy, certainly outside of the British Museum.

When the court house was rebuilt in 1898-1900, Colonel Johnson's private office, as well as all the offices of the clerk's office, were moved from their old place on the ground floor, southeast corner of the 1853 building, to the second floor northeast corner of the new building. The new offices were sooner or later equipped with steel desks, but Colonel Johnson retained his big old black walnut desk and chair, and on his retirement in 1923 his staff bought them both from the county and with his framed pictures, so long in his old office, he set up a new office in the new part, fourth floor, of the Central Exchange Building, again on the northeast corner. Here sitting at his desk early in the forenoon of January 21, 1927, he peacefully passed away, literally dying in harness.

THOMAS FRANCIS KENNEY, M.D.—
A MEMORIAL SKETCH

Prepared and Read by George B. O'Flynn at a Meeting
of the Worcester Historical Society, April 10, 1931

On September 20, 1880, in Worcester, Massachusetts, was born Thomas Francis Kenney, the son of Thomas and Anastasia (Quinn) Kenney. At that time the family, who were comfortably well off, lived on Summer Street.

Young Kenney attended the Thomas Street School and, upon his graduation from that institution, the Classical High School. At the Classical High School he proved himself both student and athlete. He was a serious-minded boy who applied himself earnestly to his studies and achieved a splendid academic record. In athletics he was especially interested in running, even entering a competition against Arthur Duffy, the world champion sprinter. His early interest in music is evidenced in the fact that he was the composer of his class song and class pianist at the graduation exercises.

In his sixteenth year, Thomas F. Kenney suffered a severe attack of rheumatic fever, which affected his heart; but he recovered sufficiently to continue his studies.

Upon his graduation from the Classical High School he entered Harvard University and was graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1905 with the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Dr. Kenney then did postgraduate work at the University of Berlin and the University of Vienna. At Vienna he was associated with Dr. Bela Schick in the development of the now famous "Schick Test." The direct result of this graduate study of Dr. Kenney is written in the enviable place Worcester today holds in the work of immunization in diphtheria.

During these student days at Vienna, Dr. Kenney found time to continue his study of music. It was also at this time that he met his future wife, Miss Maud Reber, who was studying music in the Austrian capital.

Miss Reber is the daughter of the late James Calvin and Catherine (Snyder) Reber, prominent residents of Dayton, Ohio. Some years later Dr. Kenney and Miss Reber were married in Worcester on

February 8, 1910, by the late Dr. McCoy, then rector of St. Anne's Church.

Upon the completion of his work at Vienna, Dr. Kenney made two trips around the world. He grew especially interested in public health and sanitation and made an intensive study of his specialty in different countries.

Dr. Kenney then returned to Worcester where he established himself in the practice of his profession. Later, he was appointed a school physician, one of the sixteen original school physicians in Worcester. After the death of James C. Coffey, for many years member and agent of the Board of Health, the position of head school physician and agent were combined and Dr. Kenney was appointed Director of Health and School Hygiene on September 11, 1922.

Dr. Kenney brought to the work his broad training and experience and has given the board a standing second to but few in this country.

The prevention of epidemics and the decrease of infant mortality were his principal objectives. Important changes, under his direction, were made in the system of vaccinations so that the congestion at City Hall was avoided and the children were vaccinated at the school to the great convenience of both children and parents. The staff of health nurses was increased from time to time, as funds were made available, and house visitations were begun for the improvement of home conditions and the stamping out of disease at its source. Belmont Hospital for contagious diseases was enlarged.

The results of Dr. Kenney's work for the prevention of disease speak for themselves. Not a case of smallpox was reported during the time he was head of his department and typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and diphtheria have been reduced to a minimum. Unflagging interest was taken by Dr. Kenney, likewise, in the prevention and cure of tuberculosis. One nurse was assigned to give full time work to clinic cases and follow-up work, while other work was carried on by staff nurses by districts.

Dr. Kenney very soon turned his attention to children between two and six years of age, the pre-school group, with special care of those about to enter school. The summer "round-up" program carried out by physicians and nurses of the department, and the

diphtheria immunization clinics established by the personnel of the department and the Worcester District Nursing Association are two outstanding features of his pre-school program.

Dr. Kenney made a great effort always to gain the coöperation of the home in having corrected the defects in the children found by physicians after the children had begun school. He was particularly interested in the work done to improve defective hearing and eyesight and he was extremely active in the establishment of dental clinics in several central schools.

Social work he instituted on the part of health nurses in procuring necessities for school children whose parents were unable to provide for them. Food and milk for undernourished children, glasses, shoes, arrangements for hospital service, the collection and redistribution of clothing, and the placing of children in summer camps were only a few of the activities he supervised.

Dr. Kenney insisted on strict rules and regulations concerning the handling and sale of milk and food. He placed great stress on the improvement of the sanitary conditions of bakeries, stores, and restaurants. Regular and routine inspections were instituted and considerable improvement has resulted.

It is important to note that because of the care given the health and sanitation of the city during the past nine years the number of deaths in the city yearly is now less than ten years ago, in spite of an increase in population of about ten thousand. And a very significant achievement is the marked decrease in infant mortality.

In addition to his varied duties as health official here, Dr. Kenney found time to conduct a course of lectures on health and sanitation at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In fact, it is known to the writer, that Dr. Kenney could have become affiliated with the Institute in a full-time capacity had he so desired.

He was in constant demand as a speaker and writer, frequently on subjects associated with his health work. He firmly believed that education of the people along the line of disease prevention was the most efficient method of procedure and he rarely, if ever, refused an invitation to address groups no matter how small.

Always gracious, he never complained of the sacrifice of his own leisure, a leisure which he would have used so profitably. He loved choice books and possessed many; he loved fine paintings and had an interesting collection; he cared deeply for music, especially the opera.

Dr. Kenney held fellowships in the Worcester District Medical Society, the Massachusetts Medical Society in which he served on the State Public Health Committee, and the American Public Health Association. He was a member of the American Medical Association, Massachusetts Association of School Physicians serving on the Executive Committee; Gorgas Memorial Institute, serving on the Executive Committee from Massachusetts, and he was attached to the Department of Biology and Public Health of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a special lecturer.

Dr. Kenney became a member of the Worcester Rotary Club in 1920. He served as chairman of the boys' work committee in 1924–1925, as vice-president in 1928, and president in 1928–1929. At the Dallas Convention he was elected governor of the thirty-first district for 1929–1930. He was appointed to the International Service Committee for 1930–1931.

He was a member also of the Monday Evening Club, the Worcester Historical Society, the University Club, and the Worcester Country Club.

In the fall of 1930 he attended a meeting of the International Service Committee of Rotary in Hamburg and later toured Germany, Belgium, and England, visiting schools and hospitals and making a study of the health work in these countries. It was on the return voyage to the United States that Dr. Kenney contracted a severe cold and upon his arrival he suffered alarming heart symptoms, which necessitated his removal, later, to the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital in Boston where he died March 15, 1931.

Dr. Kenney is survived by Mrs. Kenney and four children: James, a freshman at Harvard University; Marjorie, a student at Dana Hall, Wellesley; Reber at Worcester Academy, and John Durbin who is studying at home under private tutors. Two brothers and two sisters also survive him: George F. Kenney of Worcester, Mass., James F. Kenney of Boston, Mass., Mrs. Emily Kenney McGrail of Bronxville, N. Y., and Miss Mary J. Kenney also of Bronxville, N. Y.

A man of large personal means, Dr. Kenney could have, if he had so chosen, spent his life in the pursuit of pleasure; but the call of service to his fellow men sounded for him a more appealing note. In ways far truer for him than for most of whom it is said he was a

great public servant. In his passing Worcester has suffered a loss of which only the years can teach the greatness.

For his friends and associates, the doctor's going means a very real and very personal grief.

For us all Dr. Trowbridge, his colleague and friend, says it, "In life he possessed a charming personality. In death may sweet memories of him abide with those who were privileged to know and love him."

WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Annual Report of the Director, June 24, 1932

Last month the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Museums was held in Cambridge, and the obligation seemed to rest upon me to represent our Society there, at least at the Registration Desk on one of the three-day sessions. The discussion in particular that it fell to my lot to hear related to the work of Museums in Times of Depression. The papers presented were all from administrators of large museums, with extensive budgets, from people who could talk expansively about reduced appropriations from a city treasury, and about salary cuts, million-dollar buildings, and wealthy patrons. I craved an opportunity to seek counsel for an institution that knows no resources but what are limited, and where there are no real salaries to be cut in these depressed times.

And yet I found one sentiment vigorously expressed to which I could give hearty mental response—the thought that in its task of *feeding the spirit* a museum should find special opportunity and fresh stimulus in times like the present. This I feel strongly in our own case. In workless, comfortless, zestless days people want to forget the doubtful present and the many unstable material things, and to find cheer through stimulation of the imagination and in thoughts of life as it has been lived under conditions when, perhaps as now, material comforts were few or lacking, and people were thrown upon their own resources for amusement or incentive. “There is,” says one of the newspaper reports of the next morning, “no form of investment in the public interest more favored, except perhaps our great universities, than American museums of art, history, industry and science” . . . , “and our immediate duty in the face of restricted resources will be not to add to the burden of unemployment. The argument is sometimes heard that museums do not stand in the same category as so-called essential services such as police and fire protection. But some of us feel that the feeding of the spirit in these times, when the morale of our communities is being undermined by real want following on unemployment, is just as important as police protection.”

But the best to be gotten from such a great gathering of people

of like interests does not always come from elaborate prepared papers so largely as from personal contacts with eager doers of things along the special line of one's inquiry. Even during a brief attendance such contacts may alone compensate for all the expenditure of strength, time, and currency. There was, for instance, the man from Manchester, New Hampshire, where the depression is particularly severely felt, who was eager to talk of nothing but his new \$100,000 Historical Museum Building into which he was about to move; the New Bedford man, fully convinced of the importance of the recently extended Whaling Museum of his town, with which the new museum at Nantucket bore no comparison; the complacent woman from the great Smithsonian which was the only thing worth mentioning; the New Jersey boy who had caught the idea of the newest of the professions, and was soon to enter upon his four-years' course of study in preparation for it. There was Dr. Adams from Springfield, whose Connecticut Valley Historical Society is so attractively housed in the new Pyncheon Memorial Building, to some extent administered jointly with the Public Library, the Art Museum, and the Natural History Building, all in the same quadrangle; and many other people from places more or less remote and representing, in many cases, institutions with resources, even in depressed days, far in excess of anything to be seen even here at the very heart of the Heart of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which we still like to call Armory Square, in spite of the foolish practice of renaming every four corners after some individual who may have won distinction in past military service.

On the single day when I was present at the Cambridge meetings, the historical museum idea seemed not to have the opportunity that the program promised or present conditions require. When other props are growing weak, or are failing us, the foundations of civilization out of the past should be carefully reexamined, and a basis for confidence and an incentive for advance found through observing how other people on the same ground that we are just now finding so insecure have lived hopefully and achieved much under conditions perhaps no less hard than our own.

In my report for this year I have wished to review briefly, by suggestion more than by any detail, what is really going on at large in a Historical Society's province, as a slight basis for a reason-

able estimate of what we are in way of accomplishing here. There is, for example, the small town with no wealthy patrons, which has dispelled its inferiority complex by an awakened consciousness of its historic background, accomplished through the organization of its Historical Society some years ago. It now owns its own old homestead in the community's center for its local museum and library, a real social center for most of the town's social activities. There is the great manufacturing city, the products of whose industries are distributed, in normal times, all over the world, whose museum of historic industries, amply housed and elaborately developed, is a focus for educational work in all grades and all departments of community life. There is the average city with one or two, perhaps more, special industries, each with its own museum, like our neighbor of the American Steel & Wire Co., the Crompton & Knowles, and others in our own city, each telling from its own viewpoint why that particular place became a thriving, happy one to live in. There is the county town or district center, like Salem, with its great Essex Institute and its Peabody Museum, alive and potent with numberless signs and symbols of historic tragedy or adventure that can furnish innumerable thrills for impressionable boy and girl visitors. And there is the museum of metropolitan aims and possibilities, like the recently opened Museum of the City of New York, or the great number of widely separated historic houses representing the early life of New England, all owned and administered by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, or our own highly esteemed neighbor, the American Antiquarian Society, or the National Museum at Washington. All such institutions have their well defined, inclusive or exclusive lesson to teach, a large place to fill, a large responsibility to meet because of great endowments, possibly an unwieldy task to perform just because of an ambitious programme to be rendered.

Ours is a modest local museum of life and livelihood, to a large extent specialized upon the plan to show the way in which our own home folks have made a living while making a life that has been worth while. To illustrate this with actual relics and records and symbols, so far as our limited space and limited financial means will allow, has been the underlying purpose in organizing and extending our collections. The year's progress in this work it now remains for this report to define or suggest.

Between June 1, 1931, and June 1, 1932, the number of visitors at our building has been 2264, rather more than during the last fiscal year, even though fewer schools have come in a body. These guests have been of all ages, from places near and remote, with various objects in mind; or perhaps they have come with no object except to get under cover from the cold, or to kill time in an idle afternoon. But even so, as already suggested, we may be doing a worthy service in these times of depression. To review at this time the varied quests of our guests at the building or the varied topics upon which correspondence has been carried on, would be tedious as a part of this report. We have held old friends and made new ones by numberless civilities spoken and written, and acted also through guidance among our treasures and, under careful conditions, loans made for special local occasions. There have been fewer opportunities for gain through sale of duplicates than in earlier years, partly because the supply is reduced; and yet many of the numbers of earlier publications of the Society, for which there has been a steady sale, are still to be had.

It is a pleasure to report the accessions for the year, 143 to the Library, 179 to the Museum. This pleasure comes partly from the number and character of the items themselves, partly from the helpful spirit and the wide distribution of the donors. Mr. Herbert Wesby is an industrious organizer of newspaper material, and his long row of attractively mounted booklets of clippings supplements Mr. Woodward's extensive system of files of this material, all of which will greatly help in the research of students for long years to come. Another active friend among our members is Mr. Charles E. Ayers, whose contributions to our files of Worcester pictures will earn the gratitude of the generations. Mr. Reidy, Miss Southwick, Mr. Russell Hawes Kettell, and others have added greatly to the interest and value of our Manuscript Collection. Mr. Henry L. Chapin, of Los Angeles, who, so far as I know, has never seen our building or ever been known personally by any of us, has proved a most generous helper in our work, and his varied gifts deserve a more extended recognition than you will wish to listen to at this time. They are all duly entered on the Accession Books. During the year past he has sent us, for one thing, the Chapin Family Bible, containing extensive genealogical records, which, just as a material product of the art of book-making, has interest for us because it is a Thomas imprint, published here in 1791.

Such are a few of the accessions to our interesting and growing library, made more and more complete and usable from year to year through Mr. Colegrove's skill in organization. Many of the 179 accessions to the Museum are of much interest and value. Eighty of the number belong to the collection of women's costumes, a part of the Museum to which Mrs. Forbes and her committee have devoted much time and study, and which is highly appreciated by visitors, and recognized as a unique and beautiful exhibit by itself, independently of the Museum as a whole. It is encouraging to find that young people, boys in particular, have caught the idea upon which we are working, and bring items of interest and value for our collections, in Museum as well as Library. We have a few such prospective supporters and officers for our institution in the next generation. It is also of interest that Mr. John E. Morse, who moved from Worcester many years ago, should continue loyal to our Society, and should send items for our collections from time to time. It is worth while for an institution as well as for an individual to make and keep friends. I have already mentioned the benefactions of Mr. Henry L. Chapin, of Los Angeles, in connection with the library. Within a few weeks three items of considerable value have been received for the Museum from this source—one a costly carved ivory sword cane, another a beautifully mounted miniature of the donor, made many years ago in Paris, and third, an expensive Paris clock, together with a \$500 bond, the income from which is for the care of his donations, so far as needed, the surplus for the general purposes of the Society. It may be thought that gifts like these bear no close relation to our work, which is to collect and make useful historical material relating in particular to Worcester. But Mr. Chapin was born in Worcester and still has brothers here; and, in any case, general history is a background for all local history, and our growing collections, of timepieces for example, are of local value, even if some individual items have no immediately local associations, for Abel Stowell, Worcester's clock maker of 125 years ago, identifies clock-making as an industry with our city for all time.

It is within the year that Russell Hawes Kettell brought to us the valuable marble bust of his grandfather, Dr. Russell Hawes, the well-known and versatile Worcester inventor of ninety years ago, together with several letters—patent of his inventions, not,

however, including the most important of all—that on his envelope machine. It is pleasant also to remember in this connection the two historic and still very useful family bookcases from Miss Maud Chase, the firebags used by William T. Merrifield in the days when the Worcester Fire Society was a public service organization rather than a social one, the substantial arm chair made by Levi W. Fifield from wood of the old Old South Church, the important old Pendleton lithograph of the Battle of Lexington, and a genuine Hessian helmet of Revolution days, both willed to us by Waldo J. Farrar of Leicester. Then there is the old school desk out of the little red schoolhouse days, secured for us by Mr. Speirs, a feature of the Lower Museum that is very interesting to youthful minds of all ages. The collection of Rogers Groups has been extended through the thoughtfulness of Mrs. E. R. Goodwin and others, and our interesting collection of historic jewelry and curios has been enriched by a number of choice lockets, combs, etc., from various sources. In this connection we shall wish to remember the thoughtfulness of that friend of the whole city, Miss Jessie E. Tyler, long of the Public Library staff, who left us by will a choicely mounted portrait cameo brooch of her father, Rev. Albert Tyler of Oxford, a true and tried supporter of the work of this Society a generation back, and a frequent contributor to its publications as well as to its collections. The cameo was cut by Mr. Kenney, the Worcester artist, of whose workmanship we have at least one other example. A complete outfit of Odd Fellow Regalia from our very helpful friend and fellow worker, Mr. W. A. Lewis, brightens up a dark corner of the Main Museum, and Ex-mayor O'Hara has repeatedly shown appreciation of our aim and method of teaching Worcester history, most recently by the gift of the first Dial Telephone used in this city, and the inscribed Greeting to Worcester, dropped by Charles Lindbergh, when he flew over in 1927.

Such are only a few of the long list of gifts to the Museum. The Accession Book shows that about 79 different persons have recognized this as an opportunity to help on a work of education as well as to contribute toward a rather popular feature of the City Recreational System.

At this time the Society should also be reminded of its eight unusually successful meetings, already listed in the Secretary's report, and particularly of its public service through its publica-

tions. Our annual April booklet has received encouraging expressions of approval, and our work through the columns of *This Week in Worcester*, begun three years ago, with some hesitation and some sense of responsibility for its establishment, if at all, on scholarly as well as attractive lines, is proving of some real help to us as well as, doubtless, to the publishers of the little periodical itself. A group of some of the earliest of these "Jottings" has been put into permanent form and published as a book under the Society's imprint; it is now on sale, if members care to encourage this sort of study of Worcester traditions by purchasing it.

The crowded condition of our building is often spoken of by visitors, and members know very well that additional floor and wall space is already a necessity for the proper continuance of our work. We own, free of any encumbrance, this substantial but not fireproof building. Your Executive Board have within a few months decreased the fire risk somewhat by installing in the more hazardous parts of the structure fire-preventing appliances; but still careful people, going about among our irreplaceable treasures, for which we are responsible, ask "Is this building fire proof?" We find what comfort we can by replying that it is of slow-burning construction. It may be the time will soon come for the appointment of an Outlook Committee of men of good judgment and of clear understanding of the part this Society has to take in the building up of the city's higher interests, and who also know Worcester's material conditions—a committee to study what would best be done in order to provide better for the particular service that we, as no other organization, can render to the community. It is not too soon to begin a consideration of the problem of securing new floor and wall space, either on our present lot, almost the most desirable in all the city's lay-out, or on some other spot, if opportunity were sought and found for a profitable sale of our present holdings and for erecting a fire-proof and appropriate building in a less conspicuous and less valuable, but equally accessible place elsewhere.

The Fowler bequest, made available during the year past, is encouraging to our efforts, and is greatly appreciated. If it could be supplemented by many similar tokens of appreciation of what other cities of Worcester's class are doing toward a study of the home community's history, we might feel that we were fairly

launched upon the career marked out for us fifty-seven years ago. At this moment your coöperation is particularly invited in building up the, so far as I know, absolutely unique Out-of-Doors Museum. Observation shows that a considerable proportion of the many who pass this building stop to read the inscriptions on the Indian mortar and the Franklin milestone, and to give a thought about life and livelihood as it has been right here about us. Other items are definitely in mind for this collection, but one difficulty is that we have no funds with which to defray the cost of moving heavy objects, not to mention the possible price on the objects themselves.

Finally a word should be said about the loyal support we are having from the group of people who assume responsibility for the active administration of the Society's work every day at the building. Besides to Mr. Colegrove and to Mr. Lincoln, stand-bys in their respective departments, we are under obligation to Messrs. Whitman, now active as Assistant Director, Lewis, Rice and Chase, for loyal and intelligent coöperation as relay attendants, afternoons. This system of having men on call for service as occasion requires makes it possible to have two or three or even four on the ground to serve as guides or caretakers or research helpers during visiting hours. Dr. Lincoln is uniformly at his desk in the Manuscript Department to meet any who need assistance in that growing and important section of our resources, and Mr. Colegrove, who has not missed a day at his work through the year, will leave his type-writer and his cataloguing to assist in any possible way. In some other connection I have mentioned the possibility that a group of women members of the Society, people of wide acquaintance in the city, of social experience and educational instincts might see it as a privilege to visit the building in relays on certain afternoons in order to help in greeting strangers, guiding children, and interesting many who hardly know how, at first, to use and enjoy a museum and library of our sort. We cannot, of course, afford a salaried corps of uniformed attendants on the three floors of our equipment, but we do need, at some times more than at others, a number of friendly but dignified people at hand to answer questions, make suggestions, and, we must confess it, to safeguard our property in some cases. Possibly on certain occasions special entertainment might be offered by such a voluntary committee, with refreshments or previously announced talks upon special features of our collec-

tions, perhaps associated with special days of the historic year. Some plan of this sort might widen the range of our service and strengthen our friendships throughout the community at large.

As director of your work for successive years I wish to express my appreciation of your confidence and encouragement, and of the opportunity that has been mine for a service that may sometime be better understood than at present. I assumed the duties of my office because no other person seemed available. Now that some of the merely mechanical features of the task are to an extent behind us, I recognize something of the privilege in acting as your representative to the extent of my ability under the counsel and coöperation of the considerate and efficient Executive Board provided by your vote.

Respectfully submitted,

U. Waldo Cutler

The
Worcester Historical Society
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New Series
Vol. 1, No. 7

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THE PROCESSION OF THE CHURCHES OF WORCESTER

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Frank Colegrove, March 8, 1929

The great forces which have shaped the Worcester which we know are many, and any one of them would furnish a story of absorbing interest and a revelation of amazing power. Let us glance briefly at some of them.

A notable natal day it was for Worcester on which Isaiah Thomas brought here his printing press, and shortly after put the autograph note on the margin of a copy of the first issue of the *Massachusetts Spy*, or *American Oracle of Liberty*. "This Newspaper is the first thing ever printed in Worcester." And from that time the press has been a mighty factor in the shaping of this community.

Another great factor, whose significance is perhaps hardly realized in its fullness by us now, was the lecture platform, and the Lyceums, etc., which supported it. Here is the list of lecturers in the Worcester Lyceum Course for the season of 1850–1851, which is fairly representative of their courses in the forties and the early fifties:

Park Benjamin, Esq., of New York
Rev. T. Starr King, of Boston
Mark Hopkins, D.D., President of Williamstown College
Rev. Edward Beecher, D.D., of Boston
Hon. Horace Greeley, of New York
Rev. Barnes Sears, D.D., Secretary of the Board of Education
E. P. Whipple, Esq., of Boston
Rev. George Bushnell, of Worcester
Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston

And the list of lecturers in the Worcester City Anti-slavery Society's course for 1854–5 follows:

Charles Sumner, of Boston
John Pierpont, of Medford
Salmon P. Chase, of Cincinnati, Ohio
John P. Hale, of New York
Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky
Theodore Parker, of Boston

Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn, N. Y.
Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y.
Ralph Waldo Emerson, of Concord
Lucy Stone, of West Brookfield
N. P. Banks, of Waltham
William W. Brown, recently from England
David Wilmot, of Towanda, Pa.

Comment on these lists would be superfluous.

Closely connected with the Lyceums, etc., were the political and civic parties, societies and associations. Through these Worcester has had a distinguished part in all the political and social movements of her day, to the great development of her civic character.

Not less potent a factor in the development of Worcester's own character has been her philanthropic institutions, hospitals, asylums, homes, clubs, great and small, gradually mounting up to such mass participations as the Golden Rule Fund. Worcester began early to demonstrate the value of definite organizations for the pushing of charitable (social and moral) and civic, as well as political causes, until now she can mobilize well toward the whole civic body behind a great moral or humane undertaking.

Another force beyond our estimate or realization has been our schools, from that in the brick schoolhouse on the Common, and its more humble predecessors, to the immense aggregate of today: primary, academic, collegiate, university and technical schools, which have made our city sought as a residence by parents with children to be educated.

And finally, in this enumeration, there is the broad and basic structure of industrial and commercial agencies. Inventive genius, mechanical skill, and resolute industry—characteristic from the first—have reared on strong foundations the enormous fabric of the present in these lines, with its high and individual character, assuring to Worcester an eminent material prosperity, with resulting means and leisure for the cultivation of the higher interests.

But there has been another force running through the whole life of the community; a force of supreme power, pervading, informing all, originating or leavening and molding the other formative forces. It is this which is the theme of my paper.

Some months ago I made a little compilation entitled, *Data of Worcester Churches—1719 to 1927*; a skeleton of statistics, which is very provocative of attempts of the imagination to round it out into an imposing pageant of the ever swelling stream of the life of the churches and other religious organizations down through these two centuries of the history of our community. This pageant with all its implications is staggering to the mind; the aggregate of the forces, moral, spiritual, and intellectual involved bewilders the imagination.

No sooner was the first permanent settlement of Worcester accomplished than the settlers began to plan for the holding of regular religious services. Indeed, as Stevens says, "Before foot was set upon the soil a provision was made 'that a good minister of God's word be placed there.' "

At first, meetings were held in private houses which were offered for the purpose, among them that of Gershom Rice; but in 1717 a little log meeting-house was built at the corner of Franklin and Green Streets. This might be called the nursery of the first church, though there was no stated organization until two years later.

The fountain head, then, of the churches of Worcester was at the heart of the Heart of the Commonwealth, on the Common—the organization of the First, or Old South Church being made, a house of worship erected on the Common, and a pastor settled, all in the year 1719.

The nature of the statistics above referred to is such as is calculated to assist us in following the growth and ramifications of the stream from this humble beginning; the slow gathering of other tiny rills from the same or other origins, some branching, some disappearing and some coalescing, but the whole gradually swelling; the contributing rivulets losing their relative individual importance as the sweep and volume of the aggregate impresses itself on the mind; down to the majestic and complex flood of the year of grace 1927, with its thirty denominations or sects and its 117 churches or societies. And of course besides the existing organizations in this year there are the many which have come and gone, making a grand total of approximately fifty denominations or names, with two hundred individual organizations, besides many missions and other miscellaneous religious groups.

And the mere roll call is not enough. These were living, growing,

changing bodies, with their relationships and interactions. We wish to know where they lived, whom they married or with whom they formed other alliances, who were their children, dates and circumstances of death or absorption into other bodies, etc. So these statistics relate to dates of origin and all the vicissitudes of location and migrations: changes of name without loss of identity; sometimes changes of order or denomination; unions, separations, colonizations, etc.

As the procession begins to move let us note the first appearance of some of the leading denominations. At the very head is the Old South, mother of Congregationalism in Worcester, located, as we have said, on the Common in 1719, the site which it was to occupy for 168 years.

Now, while the line is still thin, we will wait until a good number have appeared, and examine them as a group. I have before me an interesting old picture entitled: "A View at the North Entrance to the Village of Worcester." This shows the Salisbury Mansion on the hill, the Old Court House, the Unitarian Church, the spire of the old Central Church to the south, and a few other buildings. On the same card, below the picture, with other statistical information it is stated: "There are in the limits of the Village 7 houses for public worship, 4 Congregational (one of which is Unitarian), 1 Baptist, 1 Catholic, and 1 Methodist."

From internal evidence the date of this picture, with its accompanying text (originally published in *Barber's Collection*) must have been about 1841, and to the seven churches having at that time houses of worship should be added at least four congregations without buildings: The Friends, Second Adventists, Universalists, and the Second Baptists.

There was a practical Congregational monopoly for nearly one hundred years, 1719 to 1812, when the Baptists appeared, but during nearly the whole of this Congregational domination there was the little congregation of Friends, the second religious body in Worcester, dating from 1732, only sixteen years later than the First, or Old South Church. Having little or no legal or social recognition, its early place among the churches of the city was long ignored, but from 1909 the directories give the date of its origin as 1732.

In 1841, then, 122 years from the first organization, the list of

Worcester's churches was, so far as the data before me show, as follows:

1. First, or Old South, Congregational, 1719, on the Common.
2. Friends, 1732, 158 Main St. (No building).
3. Second Parish (First Unitarian) 1785, Court Hill.
4. First Baptist, 1812, South St., east of Common.
5. Central (Congregational) 1820, Main St.
6. Trinity Methodist, 1834, Exchange and Union Sts.
7. Union (Congregational) 1836, Front St.
8. Roman Catholic, 1841, Temple St.
9. Universalist, 1841, Brinley Hall (Building in 1843).
10. Second Adventist, 1841 (No records kept until 1850).
11. Second Baptist, 1841, Town Hall.

Eight denominations; eleven churches. So much for the first 122 years.

For the remaining eighty-six years the procession is so rapid and dense that we must systematize our scrutiny of it somewhat in order not to become entangled in the maze and lose any clear recognition of its elements.

Let us then take as a special object of attention the succession of the leading denominations, as each first appears:

- 1719 Congregational (Trinitarian).
- 1732 Friends.
- 1785 Unitarians.
- 1812 Baptist.
- 1834 Methodist.
- 1841 Roman Catholic.
- 1841 Second Adventist.
- 1843 Episcopal.
- 1860 Christadelphian.
- 1860 Church of Christ (Disciples).
- 1864 Spiritualist.
- 1867 Methodist Episcopal, African.
- 1877 Jewish.
- 1880 Free Baptist.

- 1886 Presbyterian.
- 1889 Armenian (Gregorian).

If to these we add :

- 1852 Free Church, Horticultural Hall.
- 1874 New Jerusalem Church (Swedenborgian), Insurance Hall.
- 1879 Worcester Ass'n. of Spiritualists, G.A.R. Hall.
- 1885 Worcester County Deaf Mute Ass'n., 492 Main St.
- 1885 Seventh Day Advent Church, 118 Austin St.
- 1886 Worcester Liberal Union, 554 Main St.
- 1888 Union Holiness Ass'n., 492 Main St.,

with the Hospital Chapel, 1848; Chapel at the County House, 1850; and a number of missions and branches, most of which eventually became churches, and are placed in the lists from the date of organization as churches, we shall have brought the procession down as far as 1889, the date of publication of Mr. Stevens's "Worcester Churches."

After this, the field having been pretty well covered territorially, not many new churches were started in the larger denominations, but attention was chiefly paid by them to the strengthening of those already established, and finally to consolidations, as of Union and Salem St. Congregational churches into the new Union; First and Main St. Baptist into the new First Baptist Church; Trinity and Grace Methodist (and practically Laurel St.) into the Wesley Church, etc.

But the increase in the number of scattering sects and of other working religious organizations became rapid, especially among our foreign-speaking people, and most particularly since the outbreak of the World War.

From 1890 to the year of the War the following appeared :

- 1891 Christian Crusaders.
- 1894 Salvation Army.
- 1894 Followers of Christ.
- 1894 United Presbyterians.
- 1895 Worcester New Church Association.
- 1897 Volunteers of America.

- 1898 Tabernacle (Assembly).
1898 Christian Science.
1899 One Faith Christadelphians.
1899 Christian Alliance.
1900 Plymouth Brethren.
1908 All Saints Lithuanian National Catholic Church.
With many missions.

To test your knowledge of the names and modes under which our fellow men are worshiping, not in far-off corners of the world but in our own city, I will enumerate the religious bodies which have appeared in Worcester since the beginning of the World War:

- Metaphysical Center.
Church of the Coming King.
First Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.
First Nazarene Church.
Worcester Truth Center.
Worcester New Thought Center.
Spiritual Unity Church.
Hellenic Orthodox Church (Saint Spyridon).
Pentecostal Latter Rain Church.
Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church.
St. Mary's Albanian Orthodox Church (Greek Catholic).
Assyrian Apostolic Church of Antioch.
Assyrian Apostolic Church—including the Assyrian Church, Ladies' Loving Association and the Harpoot United Assyrian Association.
St. Mary's Assyrian Apostolic Church—including as in next above.
Our Lady of Mercy Church (Syrian Catholic).
Russian Orthodox Church.
Commonwealth Rescue League (The Christian Army).
Svenska Pingstforsamlingen.
Plymouth Brethren (Open).
Free Methodist Church.
And a few missions.

As the pageant sweeps on in orderly chronological succession, and for the most part in denominational groupings, it will be easy to note

the varying tides of denominational as well as of aggregate growth.

Let us note a few of the leading denominations individually as they come along. Of course the Trinitarian Congregationalists lead the march, but for all their clear getaway it is a century before their second church is established, 1719 to 1820, the date of Central Church, and in the first 160 years the number had increased to only nine, in 1719, 1820, 1836, 1848, 1865, 1869, 1872, 1874, and 1878.

Then in the single decade of the eighties twelve more were added, in 1880, 1881, 1882, 1885, 1885, 1886, 1886, 1889, 1889, 1889, 1889, and 1889. Six more in the nineties: 1891, 1892, 1892, 1893, 1894, and 1898; and only three for the nineteen hundreds: 1900, 1908, and 1916.

Please bear in mind that in these lists missions and branches are not taken into account until they have become churches, and then they appear under the date of the church organization.

The Baptist contingent, started in 1812, had in the next sixty years increased to four: 1812, 1841, 1853, and 1871. Then, in that most expansive decade of the eighties, seven more branches sprang up: 1880, 1881, 1881, 1885, 1886, 1889, and 1889; in the nineties five more: 1890, 1891, 1893, 1896, and 1897; and since then three: 1900, 1913, and 1923.

In that remarkable decade of the eighties the total increase in the number of Worcester churches was thirty-six, besides many missions, etc.

The Methodists, beginning in 1834, increased by five in the sixties, and by ten in the eighty-three years before and after that decade: 1834, 1845, 1846, and 1850; 1860, 1861, 1867, 1867, and 1869; 1879, 1885, 1891, 1891, 1913, and 1923.

The Episcopal churches in the eighty-four years from 1843 grew to six: 1843, 1871, 1884, 1887, 1893, and 1908.

The Roman Catholic churches, starting in 1841, increased to five in the first thirty-three years: 1841, 1855, 1869, 1869, and 1874; then in the eighties gained four more: 1880, 1884, 1887, and 1887; and in another thirty-seven years advanced twelve more, at a rather uniform rate: 1893, 1894, 1895, 1904, 1904, 1906, 1911, 1912, 1916, 1916, 1922, and 1923.

The Jewish churches in the fifty years from 1877 have grown to eleven, mostly since 1900: 1877, 1886, 1899, 1905, 1907, 1913, 1913, 1913, 1923, 1926, and 1926.

The Lutherans, starting with five churches in the eighties, now number fourteen: 1880, 1881, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1894, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1906, 1906, 1914, 1917, and 1921.

The pilgrimages of many of these churches before reaching a measurably permanent abiding place are of much interest. The Christadelphians, in their journeyings, covered in the forty years from 1880 to 1920 the following nine encampments: 460 Main St., 98 Front St., 566 Main St., 11 Foster St., 184 Main St., 311 Main St., 184 Main St., 19 Pearl St., and 4 Walnut St.

But the same number of tabernaclings was accomplished by the Norwegian and Danish Methodist Mission in nine years, 1900-1908—one each year: 52 Belmont St., Old School House, Greendale; 12 Brooks Ave., 8 Wachusett St., 10 Walnut St.; 274 Main St., 578 Main St., Grace M. E. Church, Walnut St.; and 455 Millbury St. This, I believe, is the record for restlessness.

The Volunteers of America in the thirty years from 1897 to 1927 pitched their tents ten times, at 16 Mechanic St., 540 Main St., 26 Belmont St., 96 Mechanic St., 540 Main St. again, 544 Main St., 554 Main St., 64 Southbridge St., 60 Southbridge St., and at 554 Main St.

Sometimes an apparent change of location is due to changed street numbering or to change of name of the street, as the First Baptist Church, Main St., corner of Mower Ave., to Main St., cor. Ionic Ave., the name of the avenue being changed. And the address of the Finnish Swedish Evangelical Church has been successively:

- 1907, Belmont St. cor. Carbon.
- 1910, Belmont St. cor. Sheedy Ave.
- 1911, Belmont St. cor. Carbon.

Carbon St. was changed to Sheedy Ave., and then the next year back to Carbon St.

Changes in the names of the churches have been frequent, and unless there has been a consolidation, the different names of a church are all grouped together in the the *Data of Worcester Churches*; for example, the French Baptist Church, 1890, was also called:

- Beacon St. Branch of the Main St. Baptist,
- Beacon St. Branch of the First Baptist,
- Beacon St. Branch (French) of the First Baptist,
- French Baptist Missionary Church.

One of the recent changes in name is the Second Swedish, or Thomas St. Methodist Episcopal, to the Epworth M.E. Church, coincident with the change of location to Salisbury St.

The Free Baptist Church illustrates change of name, of apparent location due to change in name of street, and of denomination, as follows:

1880, Free Baptist (Free Will Baptist) Church.

1888, First Free Baptist Church.

1904, Newton Sq. Free Baptist Church, Elm Ave. cor.
Pleasant.

1913, Newton Sq. Baptist Church, Elmwood St. cor.
Pleasant St.

Elm Ave. was changed to Elmwood St., and the denomination from Free Baptist to Baptist.

The story of the Missions and Branches, with reference to the colonizing churches which sent them out, would be an interesting and extensive study by itself. Missions, etc. which cannot be traced to churches springing from them number about fifty. In the *Data of Worcester Churches*, those which can be identified with resulting churches are placed with them; others are placed with the denominations originating them, when this can be done, and the rest are put in the Miscellaneous list.

Without attempting to go into the genealogies of these churches in any comprehensive way, I will note a few of the more obvious relationships.

Naturally the Old South, standing for so many years in its central position on the Common, was a chief colonizer and center of radiation of Congregationalism, though its blood is difficult to trace beyond the first descent, because its contribution has been very largely in the form of individual strengthening of new or established churches, as its people moved to various quarters of the city. And the same will apply largely to its children, especially as working through the Congregational clearing house, the City Missionary Society.

Children of the Old South are:

Central (Calvinist) Church.

Union Church.

Salem St. (Both child and, through Central and Union,
grandchild of the Old South.)

Tabernacle Church. (This child ran away, and after a
brief career died without issue.)

Among the Baptist churches the First has been the most active
colonizer, having as direct offspring:

The Second, or Pleasant St. Baptist.

The Third, or Main St. Baptist.

The South Baptist,

and, in conjunction with its daughter, the Main St.
Baptist, after the two had reunited.

The Beacon St. French Baptist.

Quinsigamond Baptist.

Jamesville Baptist.

Perhaps the last three belong rather to the somewhat confusing
class which I would suggest be called adopted children; that is, not
real offshoots of a parent church, but wards of a foster-mother.

These usually pass through the stages of mission, branch of the
originating church, and finally independent church. Doubtless the
precise relations between the ward and the foster-parent are various
in different instances, but in all I should think that there is a distinct
relationship somewhat different from that of direct descendant. For
example, the Finnish Branch of Central Church was called successively
Finnish Congregational Mission, Belmont St. Schoolhouse;
Finnish Congregational Mission, Central Church; Finnish Branch
of Central Church; and finally Finnish Congregational Church, Lin-
wood St. In this case the members of the Mission were regularly
received into the membership of Central Church, though the records
of the Finnish Branch were kept in a manner separate, and the
Branch had its own Finnish pastor and held its own communion
service. They were formally dismissed by letter to form the in-
dependent church.

I should suppose that the relations of the Norwegian Branch of
the Old South Church, and the Swedish Branch of Union Congre-
gational Church may have been similar, but of these I have no exact
knowledge.

The Lincoln Square Baptist Church has two children, or near children: Adams Square Baptist, and the Greendale Baptist.

All Saints' Episcopal Church may perhaps with substantial accuracy be regarded as the mother of all the other Episcopal churches in the city.

This study of statistics may on the whole be dry, but it has its adventures and surprises, and its humor. Let us take one of the more recent scions and try to trace its ancestry back, the Immanuel Church, Congregational. Its mother was Piedmont; grandmother, Plymouth; and great-grandmother? Well, we find none, only in a sort a great-grandfather, in the Young Men's Christian Association. The originators of the movement leading to the formation of Plymouth Church were a group of young men, apparently affiliated with Congregationalism, but having their bond of union not in a common church membership, but in the Y.M.C.A., and the first idea was to have a sort of Y.M.C.A. church. As the group grew by the accession of other young men, and then some of the older ones, the prevailing sentiment or tradition evidently remained Congregational, as both the motion of Charles Allen that no creed be adopted, and the suggestion of another of the young men that they adopt the name, Free Congregational Church, were voted down (whereupon Mr. Allen withdrew from the venture), and it was finally decided to call the new church the Sixth Congregational, later changed to Plymouth Church.

One of the oddest of the experiences which I have encountered in this ancestral search was in tracing three of the younger churches, in each of which instances the trail led not to a mother church—unless it could be regarded as triplets—nor quite a “prep” school, but to something like a foundling hospital. Many of you will probably recognize the reference to that unique structure, the Church of the Covenant. The matron was the City Missionary Society, and the wards, three in number, received in addition to the institutional appellation, the individual names of Houghton St. Section, South Worcester Section, and Lake View Section. Upon going out into the world for themselves, the Houghton St. Section retained the name of the institution, Church of the Covenant, later becoming the Covenant M.E. Church; the South Worcester Section adopted the name South Worcester Union Church (later Hope Church); and

the Lake View Section became the Lake View Church, Congregational.

It is but in rare moments that we can so detach ourselves from contemporary associations, the petty interests and details of our time and immediate personal environment, as really to sense entire any great movement. For the most part the little surface waves hide the deep, mighty currents beneath. To our near view all the human imperfections, the petty rivalries and bickerings, the ostentations, indifferences and hypocrisies, and the misunderstandings seem to make but a sorry show of the little sections of the church life of the community which come within our individual view. But what a contrast when from some high point of observation we can really envisage something of the majestic whole.

To recapitulate merely the bare statistics, the total number of denominations or sects in Worcester's history, as nearly as I can approximate from the sometimes rather puzzling data at hand, is about fifty, and the individual organizations in the denominational lists 157, others 42, making 199 in all, besides about fifty missions and other religious groups.

Now, taking too comprehensive a view for the little and transient surface defects to be obvious, may we not appreciate the fundamental fact that each one of these so numerous, and in many respects diverse, sometimes humble and even, in our eyes, grotesque churches and other religious groups, represents a real hunger and reaching out after God, and toward the realization of His kingdom in the earth, with sacrifice and large expenditure of time, labor, and treasure to this end?

Realizing this, the whole progression stands out in its true form and proportions as an essential unity, imposing, majestic, sweeping on in enormous force and volume, directed not by the puny and erratic hands of this and that transient leader, but by the very Spirit of God. A picture of Worcester unirrigated by this vivifying stream would be beyond the imagination of any of you.

Possibly this rapid and sketchy, hardly more than suggestive review, largely of bare statistics, may yet help us to attain this wholeness of view, and to grasp some realization of the magnitude and complexity of any adequate study, and the varied interest of any adequate story of the Churches of Worcester.

STEPHEN SYMONDS AND ABBY KELLEY FOSTER

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Zelotes W. Coombs, February 14, 1930

It is often said that a great crisis brings forth great leaders. With equal truth it may be said that real leaders, great or even lesser, devoted to a cause, produce a crisis. It is my purpose in this brief paper to recreate for our twentieth century two of those leaders, possibly not among the greatest, whose names are now hardly a memory, yet who, four score years ago, were numbered among the most influential in the anti-slavery struggle, whose devoted efforts did much to produce the crisis that ended forever slavery in this country and settled forever the question of union or of division.

As I do this, I must, perforce, set a stage far more spacious than our two actors would or could require. Across that stage will march, if only as a prologue, that wonderful band of statesmen who, during the torrid summer of 1787, labored to frame for a distracted nation, a fundamental organic law. In our Federal Constitution slavery is not mentioned but its portentous form looms from time to time through the pages, threatening disaster for the future. From the adoption of the Constitution until the Civil War, slavery appeared in some form or other in every session of Congress; it was the moving force of the Mexican War; it fomented the Kansas-Nebraska struggles. And until the question of slavery or no slavery was finally answered on the fields of Antietam and Gettysburg and at Appomattox—incidental though it may have been to the question of states' rights and of secession—it was the insoluble problem, ever fraught with danger, whose final solution no man in those earlier years could foresee.

Across our stage will move, likewise, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, John Brown, and their fellow-abolitionists, that host of devoted men and women, who had the vision and who sought to make this vision reality. There will be seen Sumner and Lincoln, the heroes great and small of the War of the Rebellion, that slight woman whose romance, true or false, did perhaps more than any other factor to open the eyes of Northern people to the curse of slavery.

Great moments in the history of the world seem to run in cycles. The latter third of the eighteenth century witnessed one of these. The world ferment took various forms. Our Revolution was followed by that in France. Then came the Napoleonic wars; in England, the industrial revolution, the Reform Bill, which gave the worker the franchise, really emancipating him from slavery. This nation of ours was free from actual warfare except the second war with the mother country, but men's minds were in a ferment.

The first third of the nineteenth century here has often been called the "Period of the Newness." The philosophy of Immanuel Kant, promulgated late in the eighteenth century, had emancipated men's minds from much of what had been traditional. This philosophy doubtless had much to do with the literary development of the time, fostering the Romanticism at the expense of the effete Classicism. We may ascribe to the same cause, in large measure, the so-called Transcendental movement, which came to such strength and development in our New England.

Emerson, Alcott, Thoreau, and many other intellectual leaders were in the movement although possibly they did not realize fully whither they were bound. In October, 1840, Emerson wrote to Carlyle in England: "We are all a little wild with numerous projects of social reform; not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket. I am gently mad myself." But Emerson, the hard-headed practical Yankee philosopher, never let his philosophy run away with him, nor did Thoreau. But Alcott, who, as one friend remarked, possessed every sense except common sense, fell an easy victim.

And in this country, as well as abroad, the new philosophy took curious practical forms. Thus we have that most fascinating of experiments, Brook Farm; we have Thoreau in his solitary hut at Walden Pond; we have the Shakers, the Oneida and other communities; the Phalansteries of Fourier; the insane, yes, inane, experiment of Alcott at Fruitlands; in Harvard, the Millerites, and countless others.

I merely mention these undertakings without emphasizing them, to show the peculiar applications of the philosophy of "The Newness," to pass them rapidly in review, to pave the way for our discussion of the Fosters, to establish the premise that this was the

epoch of reform, an epoch in which men and women—and good ones, too—were ready to espouse any cause that smacked of reform.

Thus slavery was bound to come, sooner or later, within their purview, then; and when this problem was solved, temperance and women's rights. And, although many of the reformers were close akin to lunatics, as we read the chronicle, in both their purposes and methods, we must give them unstinted credit for what they tried to do and for what they actually accomplished, whereby this world of ours has most certainly become a better place to dwell in.

It was, as has been noted, a period of reform. Colonel Higginson, in his inimitable "The Rearing of a Reformer," in "Cheerful Yesterdays," touches upon it. The reforms extended to religion as well as to more mundane matters. Theodore Parker, in Boston, had, perhaps, been the prototype of the religious reformer. Colonel Higginson was called to Worcester to take charge of a congregation that went by the name of the Free Church. Worcester, he says in his essay, was at that time a seething center of all reforms. Little wonder, therefore, that Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster, reformers by nature, living in Worcester, should be caught up by and have kept pace with, or have been always a little in front of, the spirit of the times.

On the first day of January, 1831, appeared the first number of *The Liberator*, published by William Lloyd Garrison. "I am in earnest. I will not equivocate. I will not excuse. I will not retire a single inch, and I will be heard." These words appeared on every issue of this famous periodical, and they, with the personality of Garrison himself, gave a challenge to the slave power and announced an active opposition in place of one that had been merely passive.

Events followed swiftly. Anti-slavery societies were formed all through the North. The Fugitive Slave Law, in 1850, the Dred Scott Decision in 1856, the struggles over slavery in the newly acquired territories, the denunciations of orators, the utterances of the leading poets, Whittier, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, finally the outspoken position of pulpit leaders—too many of whom had hitherto favored slavery, or had not dared to oppose it—all these signs pointed to an armed struggle.

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, in 1860, was the final stroke. Civil war broke out the following year, at first a

struggle to maintain the union, but with the continued existence or total abolition of slavery as a most important issue. We can hardly wonder that under such conditions prevailing throughout the nation, a man and a woman fired with the zeal of the reformer should throw themselves wholeheartedly into the anti-slavery cause. And that is just what Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster did.

Stephen Symonds Foster was born in Canterbury, N. H., in November, 1809. His father, Colonel Asa Foster, of Revolutionary memory, was endowed with most amiable and excellent qualities, and his mother was remarkable for beauty of person and sweetness of disposition. Both parents were of advanced culture for the times. Each parent lived to an advanced age. The Foster farm, the birth-place of Stephen, was located in the northern part of Canterbury, on a hillside overlooking a long stretch of the Merrimac Valley.

Stephen was the ninth child of a family of thirteen. He early left home and learned the trade of a carpenter and builder. His parents were loyal members of the Congregational Church, and Stephen joined that communion at an early age. At this period the new West was being peopled by pioneers from the East, and there was a strong call for missionaries who would go out to this new territory to minister to the spiritual needs of the settlers. Stephen Foster heard this call when he was twenty-two years of age, and he heeded it. He secured the necessary preparation and entered Dartmouth College with the class of 1838, intending to become a Congregational clergyman, going to the West as a missionary. His field was to be the Mississippi Valley and beyond. He subscribed to the creed of his chosen denomination, but he believed especially in the principles set forth in the Sermon on the Mount: "Love your enemies"; "Resist not evil." These sentiments became his mottoes, and they governed him throughout his life.

During his course at Dartmouth College he was called upon to perform some slight military service. This he refused to do. As a result he was sentenced to serve a term in the county jail at Haverhill. Here he was thrown into the company of poor debtors, convicted felons, and the scum of the neighborhood. Conditions in jails and prisons at that time were horrible not only in New Hampshire but all over the world. Foster, therefore, undertook to reform these conditions and he actually succeeded. Letters and personal appeals

to the Governor and to others in authority produced investigations, and these investigations resulted in a marked improvement in prison conditions in New Hampshire, while they reacted far beyond the limits of that state.

Completing his Dartmouth College course in 1838, Foster entered Union Theological Seminary in New York City, intending to take the full three-year course. He remained in the seminary only one year, however. The reason for his failure to complete the course was that already he had formed most definite and unswerving opinions concerning slavery, and he did not hesitate to express these opinions and to act in accordance with them. In fact he constantly sought opportunity to express them. He felt that it was his duty to do this, as part of his religious convictions. He was free in expressing and in emphasizing his views among his fellow-students and in the classes which he conducted among the unfortunates on Blackwell's Island.

He wished to introduce such discussions as part of the student curriculum at the seminary but in this he met instant and powerful opposition on the part of the seminary authorities. Nevertheless he was offered sufficient material assistance by the principal of the seminary to enable him to complete his course without difficulty—and he certainly needed such assistance—on condition that he would agree to give up all discussion of slavery matters. This the young man declined to do, giving as his reason the fact that he could not be bribed to hold his peace and refrain from discussing questions so near his heart and conscience, and so vital to the liberty and happiness of millions of his fellow-men and women bound in the chains of slavery. Much as he needed the money, therefore, he gave up the remaining two years of his seminary course, withdrawing to engage as best he might in the great struggle that he saw impending, to which he was to devote his best energies and the best years of his life.

The New England Anti-slavery Society was organized in 1832, a year after Garrison began the publication of *The Liberator*. In December, 1833, a committee in Philadelphia organized the American Anti-slavery Society. The American Colonization Society had been founded in 1816, ostensibly to assist freed slaves to go to Africa and there establish themselves. But this organization had forsaken its early ideals and had become the agent of the slave interests. Stephen Foster allied himself with the American Anti-slavery Society, and,

at the annual meeting in New York City in 1840 offered a resolution severely criticizing the American churches and the American clergy for their mistaken position on the great question of slavery. This resolution merely echoed his own views on the subject as he later expressed them in the pamphlet entitled, *The Brotherhood of Thieves: A True Picture of the American Church and Clergy*.

From the time that he allied himself with the cause of anti-slavery he worked incessantly and indefatigably toward his goal. His addresses on this chosen topic would fill volumes. After the victory had been won he was as eager and zealous in the cause of temperance and of women's rights as he had been in that of anti-slavery. As late as 1874 he took part actively in the temperance crusade in Worcester. He was a man thoroughly impressed with the soundness of his own views and convictions. Naturally kind-hearted and never betraying any sign of ill-will or angry feeling, however severely he might be attacked, he always seemed to be in his element when he had a foe to contend with, provided he could show that the foe was on the wrong side morally, and any opponent found it difficult to parry the thrusts of his keen logic.

His social and genial good nature won for him the personal good will of all with whom he came in contact, no matter how much they might differ from him on questions of the day. His refusal to vote and to pay taxes resulted primarily from his extreme views on non-resistance, he objecting to the voluntary support of a government of force, which rested on the military arm for its very existence. He also objected on the ground that women could not vote on the same terms as men. He took this position on conscientious grounds.

Lack of space prevents mention of the details of Stephen Foster's activities in the anti-slavery cause. He wrote for daily papers and periodicals whenever he could find an opening. He lectured wherever and whenever he could gain a hearing. It is difficult for us to realize, at this late day, the bitterness felt and manifested against anti-slavery agitators, even here in the North in the time of Stephen Foster. Elijah Lovejoy, a martyr if ever there was one, was murdered in Alton, Ill., in 1840. William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope around his body, apparently doomed to be the victim of lynch law at the hands of sympathizers with slavery. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law

in 1850, for a number of years the mob sided with the slave catchers and helped them. We should not wonder, therefore, that Stephen Foster often met with actual violence. Once at least he was thrown out of a church in whose congregation he had risen to demand a hearing. From this attack he suffered injuries which confined him to his bed for several weeks. But he never lost courage. Reformers are made of sterner stuff.

Mr. Foster married, Dec. 21, 1845, Abby Kelley, of whom we shall speak in detail later. She was already a noted speaker, equally devoted to the anti-slavery cause with her husband. In 1847 they purchased the well-known farm on Mower Street, Tatnuck, long known as Liberty Farm. They lived on this farm until death overtook Mr. Foster in 1881. In 1883 Mrs. Foster sold the farm, thereafter making her home with her sister, Mrs. Barton, at 100 Chatham Street, Worcester. The brick house on the Tatnuck farm was built about 1797 by Daniel Kimball, who, later, sold it to his son-in-law, Daniel Cook. During the anti-slavery campaigns both Mr. and Mrs. Foster were absent from home frequently and for long periods. Nevertheless Mr. Foster managed the farm with pronounced success, cultivating it with the same thoroughness he showed in his efforts for emancipation, and with equal success. As a horticulturist he had few superiors, and, until disabled by illness, took an active interest in the exhibitions of the Worcester County Horticultural Society, where his products often took first prize.

Mr. Foster died Sept. 8, 1881, at his Mower Street home, after a long illness. His funeral was held two days later, and was strictly private. But on Friday, Sept. 24, a memorial service was held in Horticultural Hall, and at this service were present numerous friends, who came from all parts of New England and who included many of his famous co-workers in the anti-slavery cause. Among them were Wendell Phillips, Colonel T. W. Higginson, Frank B. Sanborn, F. W. Bird, Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, and many more. Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, a lifelong friend, presided. Abby Kelley Foster was present, besides several relatives. On the right side of the platform was placed a life-sized portrait of Mr. Foster, draped in smilax.

Addresses were made by Mr. May, who compared Mr. Foster, in the effectiveness of his work and in the sincerity of his motives, to

Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, John A. Andrew, and the lamented Garfield, who had died only a few days before, the victim of an assassin's bullet. Mr. May paid Mr. Foster the highest tribute. He was followed by Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire, by Wendell Phillips, and by Lucy Stone. Rev. H. T. Cheever, of Worcester, also spoke. Mr. Pillsbury emphasized Mr. Foster's pioneer work in his publication, *The American Church—the Bulwark of Slavery*, and his influence in reforming the prison system of New Hampshire. Mrs. Stone dwelt on Mr. Foster's work for woman suffrage, while Mr. Cheever discussed his efforts in behalf of the cause of temperance.

Wendell Phillips paid Mr. Foster a most glowing tribute as to his ability, his devotion to the cause of anti-slavery, his willingness to make any sacrifice for this cause, and he added that any who called Stephen Foster erratic and lacking in judgment were themselves lacking in judgment and in knowledge of the man.

The Worcester Spy of Sept. 9, 1881, published an editorial full of appreciation of Mr. Foster and of his work. This editorial said in part: "Stephen Foster would have been more distinctly missed a few years ago than now, for his declining health has of late withdrawn him from public notice. In his day he was the most aggressive and uncompromising of agitators. Nothing which seemed to him an abuse was so venerable as to exact the least respect or deference from him, or so strongly entrenched or defended that he feared to attack it. He was among the earliest of the anti-slavery agitators, as fearless and radical as Garrison, and he encountered as many dangers as that pioneer of freedom. When anti-slavery had resulted in the abolition of the hated institution, he turned with undiminished energy to the temperance and woman suffrage questions, but, while his own denunciation was as fierce and his manner on the platform as defiant as ever, he seemed to miss the stimulus of angry and abusive opposition, and his later public appearances were saddened by the reflection that there were no more hot and dangerous fights for him as in the good old days, when his studiously exasperating words were sure to provoke a row, and his prospect of martyrdom was sometimes quite promising.

"While his strength held out, however, he did his part as, if those whom he reproached with cowardice, hypocrisy, robbery, and other deadly sins, did not drag him off the platform, nor even send him

back as hard words as he gave, it was not his fault. His reputation for absolute sincerity and straightforwardness suffered a little of late years by his evasion of the penalty for non-payment of taxes. He refused to pay because his wife, who was joint owner of their farm, had not the right to vote. The farm was sold repeatedly by the city but always redeemed before the title had been wholly lost. This seemed like a sacrifice of principle, a compromise with his conscience which would not allow him to pay the tax but would consent to pay it with costs at a later stage. But perhaps Mr. Foster could have explained this so as to preserve his consistency. Though so truculent on the platform or with the pen, in private intercourse he was, at least in later years, always courteous and kindly. James Russell Lowell wrote of him many years ago:

“ ‘Hard by, as calm as summer even,
Smiles the reviled and pelted Stephen,
The unappeasable Boanerges
To all the churches and the clergies;
The grim savant, who, to complete
His own peculiar cabinet,
Contrived to label with his kicks
One from the followers of Elias Hicks,
Who studied mineralogy
Not with soft books upon the knee,
But learned the properties of stones
By sharp contact of flesh and bones,
And made the experimentum crucis
With his own body’s vital juices;
A man with caoutchouc endurance
A perfect gem for life insurance;
A kind of maddened John the Baptist,
To whom the hardest word comes aptest;
Who, struck by stone or brick ill-starred
Hurls back an epithet as hard,
Which, deadlier than stone or brick,
Has a propensity to stick.
His oratory is like the scream
Of the iron horse’s frenzied steam
Which warns the world to leave a space
For the black engine’s swerveless race.’ ”

Leaving now Stephen Foster for a time, let us turn to his wife Abby Kelley Foster, more famous, if anything, than her famous husband.

Abby Kelley Foster was born in Pelham, Mass., Jan. 17, 1811, and died suddenly at the home of her sister, Mrs. M. L. K. Barton, at 100 Chatham Street, Worcester, Jan. 14, 1887. Her husband had died, as noted before, Sept. 8, 1881. In the spring of 1883 Mrs. Foster had sold the farm on Mower Street (Liberty Farm, as we of a later generation have known it), and since that time had made her home with her sister, Mrs. Barton. Mrs. Foster had been in good health until a day or two before her death, which was quite unexpected.

Although she was born in Pelham her parents moved to Worcester early in the spring of 1811. These parents were both of Quaker stock, a fact which may account for much of the daughter's subsequent career. In Worcester the family first resided at Washington Square, later on the farm on Hadwen Lane, which afterward became the property of Charles Hadwen. In 1835 Wing Kelley, Abby Kelley's father, sold this farm to Mr. Hadwen, and moved to Millbury, where he died in 1836. His wife died in 1842.

The daughter, Abby, attended the public schools of Worcester, and completed her education at the Friends' School in Providence. She then taught school in Tatnuck, also in Millbury, and, later, for five years in Lynn. This last position she gave up in 1837 to engage in work for the anti-slavery cause. In her new undertaking as well as in the other causes that she espoused, she showed the earnestness, positiveness, and enthusiasm that characterized her throughout her life. Today no especial remark would be caused if a gifted woman were to espouse some particular line of endeavor, popular or unpopular. But when Abby Kelley, the mild Quaker schoolmistress, entered upon her career, she was indeed a pioneer. She and the Misses Grimké were the first women to appear upon the lecture platform as advocates of the anti-slavery cause.

The year of Mrs. Foster's death, 1887, marked the fiftieth anniversary of her taking up the work to which she devoted all her energies until she saw her great object accomplished. From her early efforts looking to the abolition of slavery, which she saw ultimately crowned with success, she bent her energies to the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which guarantees "that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be

denied or abridged by the United States or by any state thereof, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and that Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation," thus putting the climax to the great anti-slavery movement.

Mrs. Foster was also active in the cause of woman's rights, a cause that to her seemed auxiliary to that other great cause to which she had devoted her life, which recognized no distinction on account of color, race, or sex. While on her lecturing tours in different parts of the country, she became acquainted with her future husband, Stephen Foster, who was engaged in the same great crusade. They were married at New Brighton, Pa., Dec. 21, 1845, and came to Worcester to reside in the spring of 1847. The farm on Mower Street which they purchased was to be their home for nearly forty years. And many an interesting story this farm could tell, of fugitive slaves helped, as Thoreau says in *Walden*, on their way to the North Star. It was a prominent and well-known station on the famous Underground Railway. Colonel Higginson tells us in "The Fugitive Slave Epoch" in "Cheerful Yesterdays" how fugitives came to Worcester, then a strong anti-slavery community, and were driven by him at midnight to the farm of the veteran abolitionists, Stephen Foster and Abby Kelley Foster, in the suburbs of the city. This he did at the behest of his friend, Rev. Samuel May of Leicester, who was at that time secretary of the Boston Anti-slavery Society.

Mrs. Foster's funeral was held at the home of her sister, Mrs. Barton, 100 Chatham Street, Monday, Jan. 17, 1887, at 7:30 P. M. Rev. Samuel May, a life-long friend and fellow-worker of the Fosters in the anti-slavery and other reform movements, officiated, and eloquent tributes were paid Mrs. Foster by Rev. Mr. May, Lucy Stone, H. B. Blackwell, of Boston, and others. She was buried in Hope Cemetery.

At this late day we cannot feel the importance of the slavery question as it was felt eighty years ago, nor can we estimate the great part that our former fellow-citizens took in the struggle that really meant union or disunion. Contemporary accounts, however, may enable us to form some idea. Colonel Higginson says, in his *Contemporaries*, in the essay on Wendell Phillips, that in the details of the organization of the so-called Garrisonian anti-slavery movement,

perhaps the two leading organizers were two remarkable women, Maria Weston Chapman and Abby Kelley Foster. Wendell Phillips might supply the eloquence, but his efforts would have been in vain. Oliver Johnson, a fellow-worker in the anti-slavery cause, pays Mrs. Foster an earnest and well-deserved tribute in his *Sketches of the Anti-slavery Movement*, for her noble work, laboring as she did under the severest reproach because of the novelty of a woman appearing upon the lecture platform, until at last she gained her true place in the public esteem.

In May, 1837, the date of Mrs. Foster's first entrance upon her anti-slavery activities, as a speaker, while she was yet unmarried, the national woman's anti-slavery convention was held in New York City. Eight states were represented by seventy-one delegates. Abby Kelley, as she was then, and Angelina Grimké were among the speakers, as was Lydia Maria Child. The following year, in May, Abby Kelley spoke at the convention of the society held in Philadelphia in Pennsylvania Hall. This hall was burned a few days later by an anti-slavery mob.

James Russell Lowell paid Abby Kelley an eloquent tribute in one of his poems, in which he says:

“A Judith there turned Quakeress
Sits Abby in her modest dress.
No nobler gift of heart or brain
No life more white from spot or stain
Than hers, the simple Quaker maid.”

After the anti-slavery struggle was over Mrs. Foster took a deep interest in the anti-license movement, and sympathized strongly with the work of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. She was interested in any movement that looked to reform or to improvement along any line. She was the first woman to distribute ballots at the polls for no-license, acting in this capacity at the Worcester city election of 1875, when no-license came within eighty votes of a majority. Later in her life her health did not permit her to be as active as she had been formerly.

When the farm in Tatnuck was purchased, in 1847, it was deeded to Mr. and Mrs. Foster jointly, as a practical carrying out of their radical views on the question of woman's rights, as to the equality of

the sexes before the law, so that, whichever one died first, title would vest immediately in the survivor, without the necessity of legal intervention. And the purchase was made with their own money. Both Mr. and Mrs. Foster had strong conscientious scruples against working for any reform cause for pay. Hence they would never accept any salary although they would accept voluntary gifts from friends of the cause. Such friends were numerous, and they were liberal givers. Among the most generous may be mentioned Francis Jackson, C. F. Hovey, and Wendell Phillips, all of Boston.

In her history of the woman suffrage movement, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton says: "Mrs. Foster was the most untiring and most persecuted of all the women throughout the anti-slavery struggle. She travelled up and down alike in winter's cold and in summer's heat, with scorn, ridicule, and violence and mobs accompanying her, suffering all kinds of persecution, still speaking wherever she gained an audience, in the open air, in the school-house, barn, depot, church, or public hall; on week day or Sunday, as she found opportunity. For listening to her on Sunday many men and women were expelled from their churches. Thus, through continual persecution was woman's self-assertion and self-respect sufficiently developed to prompt her at last to demand justice, liberty, and equality for herself."

I have quoted brief estimates of the character and work of Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster thus far in this paper. May I quote at length the opinion of Oliver Johnson, the famous anti-slavery worker, as expressed in his book, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*. He says: "Stephen S. Foster, if I mistake not, was in full career for the pulpit when the slave's cry of anguish broke upon his ear and touched his heart. That cry was to him a summons to another field, and to that first summons he paid instant heed, not doubting that it was from the Master to whom he had consecrated his powers. A more guileless and ingenuous man I have never known. No saint of the middle ages ever surrendered himself more completely than he to the service of God and humanity. His faith in moral principles was absolute, and he could not knowingly or consciously swerve from them in his conduct. He felt the wrongs of the slave as if they were inflicted upon himself; and such was his courage that he could face a mob, withstand a friend, or go into a minority of one without

flinching. Neither his hatred of wrong nor his rebukes of wrong-doers were mixed with any dross of passion. Sometimes those who loved him best dissented from his opinions and criticized his acts; but no one ever questioned his honesty or doubted his perfect candor. His rare earnestness and sincerity gave him great power over an audience and made him popular with many as a speaker. His coolness in facing a mob was phenomenal. He was one of the "sappers and miners" of the anti-slavery army, and ready at all times to attack the enemy's fortifications. His old friends will enjoy the humorous description of him by James Russell Lowell." (This has already been quoted.)

Of Abby Kelley Foster, Mr. Johnson writes: "Abby Kelley Foster (Mrs. Stephen S. Foster) was the first woman after the Grimké sisters, to enter the anti-slavery field as a lecturer. No one who ever knew her doubted that she felt herself called of God to the work. And she entered upon it in a spirit of self-consecration that inspired the deepest respect of all observers. She did not begin in any careless or random way, but studied her subject thoroughly. She no doubt expected to become a target for the pro-slavery press, but I am sure that she did not anticipate the weight of odium that fell upon her on account of the brave step she felt it her duty to take. There are newspapers that ought to be blushing today, and editors who should be clothed in sackcloth and ashes for their shameless abuse of this noble woman. Her exalted worth did not exempt her from insinuations of the vilest sort. She was denounced and ridiculed by the pulpit as well as by the press, and her meetings were sometimes assailed by mobs. She bore all this load of reproach with unswerving patience, keeping quietly on in her work, until at last she conquered her true place in the public esteem. She was a very popular and successful lecturer and labored much, not only in New England but in New York, Pennsylvania, and the West. In Ohio and particularly on the Western Reserve she did a noble work. She may be said, with truth, to have founded *The Anti-slavery Bugle*, and I doubt if the Western Anti-slavery Society, which, as an auxiliary of the National Society, did such noble work, especially in Eastern Ohio, would ever have been organized but for her. James Russell Lowell has also described her." (These lines also have been quoted.)

Mrs. Foster was survived by a daughter, Alla, also by a brother,

Albert Kelley, of Auburn, Mass., and by two sisters, Mrs. M. L. K. Barton, of Worcester, and Mrs. Joanna Ballou, of Providence, R. I. The daughter, Alla, was educated in the Worcester schools, and became a teacher. She taught for a time in the Worcester High School. This was in the early seventies. Later she taught in the Roxbury, Mass., High School. She retired from active teaching shortly before her death, which occurred in Boston, in April, 1923.

The Fosters enjoyed the good will of their Tatnuck neighbors, and many who knew them well have testified to the esteem in which they were held. And they stood well in the city of Worcester. At one time Stephen Foster was lecturing in New York State. His scathing denunciations roused the opposition and anger of a leading clergyman of the town in which the addresses were being given. This clergyman wrote to the mayor of Worcester, complaining of the remarks of this agitator, and urging the mayor to take steps to silence him and thus to check the disgrace bound to come upon his home town. But the mayor at that time, Hon. Henry Chapin, replied that Mr. Foster was a highly esteemed citizen of Worcester and that any who had the good fortune to hear him might consider himself fortunate, and give good heed to his words.

In person Mr. Foster was tall and of rugged build, though inclined to slenderness. Mrs. Foster was of average woman's height and build.

Today the names of Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster are hardly even names to most people in this country or in this their home city. Older residents recall them, their personalities, their eccentricities, if so their strong views and their radical attitudes may be characterized. Some of their Tatnuck neighbors remember them pleasantly as good citizens of pronounced views on many subjects. In time even these memories will become dimmed. But these reformers had the vision, and they had the courage of their convictions. Reformers are not always pleasant companions; yet the world has need of them. And though even the memory of Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster pass away, this country and the whole world, now profiting by what they were, by what they suffered, and by what they really accomplished, is a better place in which we of a later generation may dwell.

EARLY CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS OF WORCESTER

Paper Read at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the
Worcester Historical Society
by Samuel B. Woodward, January 16, 1925

If there is in this audience anyone who was also present at the 50th Anniversary of the Worcester Employment Society some few weeks since, I must beg his, or more probably her, indulgence.

The Historical Society and the Employment Society were organized in the same year, 1875. Both societies asked me to tell them something about early charities in Worcester, charities organized and working before their time, and I am not sufficiently versatile to be able to present two distinct essays on such a subject as that.

Your President informs me that I may grub up whatever appeals to me between 1673, the year of the first settlement of Worcester—or better 1713, the date of its permanent settlement—and 1875, provided it has to do with charitable organizations or charitable work within the city limits and provided also that I do it within twenty minutes.

Not realizing my extreme age, it is somewhat startling to me to discover that among all the charitable organizations in existence at the present time, there are but two that have not come into being during my lifetime, The Children's Friend Society and, if it can be rightly included as a charitable organization, the Reverend Father Matthew Mutual Benefit and Total Abstinence Society, whose verbose name shows that the Worcester Branch of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has no monopoly of polysyllabic and platitudinous nomenclature.

Even these societies, the first organized in 1848, the other in 1849, as a result of a visit to the town of Father Matthew himself, are but a few years older than the speaker. In other words, all organized charity now functioning in Worcester is the product of the last seventy years. All previously existing, strictly charitable societies are dead and, as I will proceed to show you, they were few in number, their life histories were short, and practically none of them could claim an acquaintance with even the eighteenth century, to say nothing of being unthought of during the seventeenth.

The first settlement of Worcester was in 1673. The date of permanent settlement was 1713, but it was nearly 100 years later, namely in 1806, that \$2,000 was appropriated to erect a building to house the pauper poor; the first almshouse dates back but 119 years. Charitable organizations, outside of those connected with the churches and possibly some for the benefit of their members only, before the organization of the Children's Friend Society, and indeed for many years afterward, were few enough. Charitable gifts by individuals and charitable help for the unfortunate were, of course, not wanting. Indeed we find it recorded that the first and rather eccentric minister of the gospel in the Old South Church, the Reverend Andrew Gardner, was solicited by a parishioner for aid in circumstances of distress and gave to him his only pair of shoes; in his generosity disregarding the consequences, which, as the gift was made on Saturday, necessitated his appearing the next day in the pulpit in his stockings and, in the evening, in a pair of slippers far too large for him. As Mr. Gardner was dismissed from his parish in 1722, accused of remissness in the discharge of his duties, (he was fond of deer hunting and was a practical joker), and as 1722 was but nine years after the permanent settlement was made, this gift of shoes may be safely regarded as the first recorded charitable act of an individual in the history of the city.

Perhaps the first real demand on Worcester people to extend help to more than an individual or a family came in 1755, when eleven persons were sent to Worcester to be provided for by the town authorities. They were strangers, speaking a foreign language, inoffensive and, with the exception of one aged pair, able to work, but work had to be found for them.*

This was Worcester's quota, Worcester's small detachment of the many thousand involuntary exiles torn from their homes in Nova Scotia by the military power of England and distributed among the colonists; Worcester's share of the Acadians from the Basin of Minas. Whatever may be thought of the action of Great Britain, it is recorded that those who were sent to Worcester were treated with great kindness, that they "were of industrious and frugal habits and mild and simple manners." Some of the oldest died here, it is said, broken-hearted; the rest, twelve years later, were allowed to return to their countrymen in Canada. As there were

but 2,000 persons in Worcester in 1783, thirty years after this, to care for eleven destitute people must have been something of a problem. They came in the autumn and, as there was no so-called poor-house to which to send them, one wonders how they were cared for during the ensuing winter.

In 1784, I find there was in existence a society called the Jews Society. Whether it was a society for Jews or of Jews I know not, but it strangely coincides with the purchase in that year from Aaron Lopez of Leicester, of his store and large commodious mansion and the establishment therein of a school, to be afterwards known as Leicester Academy, and to be for some time the only academy in central or western Massachusetts.

At the risk of being accused of wandering from my subject, I cannot refrain from calling the attention of this historical audience to the migration of some seventy Hebrews, led by this same Lopez, from Newport to Leicester, in 1777. They fled from Newport when it was taken by the British and among their impedimenta were twelve slaves. The curious result was that during the Revolutionary War, or, to be exact, during the seven years from 1777-1784, when they seem to have left town, every twelfth person in Leicester was a Jew. They were a peaceful and industrious body of citizens, keeping both Saturday and Sunday, accepting Continental currency, but rather scrupulous about holding such treacherous paper over the week-end, passing it on to the farmers in exchange for produce whenever possible before Friday was too far gone.

Three other organizations, and three only that by any stretch of definition can be called charitable, appeared during this century and all three are in existence now, the three oldest social organizations in Worcester. These are the Morning Star Lodge of Masons, the Worcester Fire Society, and the Worcester Association of Mutual Aid in Detecting Thieves. The two former date from 1793; the last from 1796. The Masonic Lodge is, I assume, what a Masonic Lodge has always been, a semi-charitable organization. (I am not a Mason.) The Fire Society no longer runs to fires and the Pursuing Committee of the Society for Detecting Thieves is no longer active, but both are maintained as social organizations in memory of their former undoubted usefulness at a time when a fire department was non-existent and the police force was probably inadequate.

In the light of the present-day troubles of all charitable societies from the use, or rather abuse, of alcohol, modified to an extent since the passage of the Volstead Act, it is interesting to speculate on what must have been the tribulations of our ancestors when the subject of drink and strong drink was looked upon as it was in Worcester in 1782, thirty years before any organizations with benevolent or charitable intentions appeared upon the scene, so far as I have been able to ascertain. In that year in town meeting assembled, a protest was voiced and minuted against a tax or duty being laid on necessities and in the record it was stated that "spirituous liquors are absolutely necessary for our seafaring brethren coasting along our shores in boats and lighters at all seasons of the year, to supply the market with wood, lumber and fish, and also to the farmer whose fatigue is almost insupportable in hay time, harvest and other seasons of the year, and for the new beginners in the new townships who have nothing to drink but water, and perhaps are exposed to more hardships than any other persons." The meeting also protested against duties on Bohea tea, "which in populous places and in many places in the country, is substituted by many poor people for their support and sustenance in the room of milk, which is not to be had, and they find it to be a cheap diet."

How easily one may be led into error by a name! In 1812 was formed the Washington Benevolent Society of the County of Worcester and the incautious writer might easily assume that organized charity dated from the time of its formation. In 1813 we find it setting out in a circular the evils resulting from the distillation of grain in the state and suggesting the propriety of petitioning Congress to levy on domestic spirits a tax so heavy as to afford a rational prospect of diminishing its consumption. Ah! A temperance society, the precursor of many such. So thought I, and I thus presented it to the Employment Society at its 50th Anniversary, but my suspicions being aroused by the fact that Washington Benevolent Societies seemed to exist in every town, and every county, in the state, I delved deeper, to find that things are not always what they seem, that these societies were early examples of camouflage, the only benevolence about them being contained in one clause of their constitution, which provided that no benevolent donation should consist of more than \$5.00; that they were secret political organizations,

of Federalist tendencies, purporting to support the precepts of Washington. Candidates were lined up and asked: "Are you willing to use every exertion to preserve and defend the Constitution of the United States against the inroads and contaminations of aristocracy, monarchy, and despotism? Will you endeavor to divest yourselves of all partiality for foreign nations? Will you use your endeavors to have the government administered upon the principles of the immortal Washington? Will you vote at all elections for such men as you believe will be faithful to the Constitution and are attached to the principles which distinguished the glorious administration of Washington and, finally, do you promise never to communicate anything said or done in this society, unless it be to a member of the same, or when compelled to do so by a Court?"

No benevolence can be detected here. After 1820, the Worcester Society became dormant, there were no meetings, and in 1836 it was decided to turn the funds in the treasury over to the Worcester Agricultural Society, which had been selected by a committee as the "Public charity of the day which was most likely to enjoy the regard of the larger portion of the Society; the objects for which it was formed having ceased to exist." There was apparently \$41.38 to disburse.

Also, in 1812, was organized The Religious Charitable Society of the County of Worcester, and again anyone searching for truth and early organized charitable societies is disappointed, for it is stated in their Constitution that the combined objects of the Society shall be:

1. To aid indigent young men of piety and talent in the acquisition of a suitable education, with a view to the Christian ministry.
2. To afford pecuniary aid to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
3. To assist feeble churches and societies in maintaining among them the preaching and institution of the gospel.

This society expended between five and six hundred dollars a year, giving generally a stipend of thirty dollars to students in colleges and seminaries. But this was not a general charitable society, although nearer to it than the Washington Benevolent. How long it

continued its activity I do not know, but in 1829 the Worcester Evangelical Missionary Society was organized to "furnish to the destitute inhabitants of our own county the means of Christian instruction and Moral improvement," which may, or may not, mean that the Religious Charitable Society was by this time defunct.

In 1827, the Female Samaritan Society printed its constitution and by-laws, with a preamble stating that it was a well-known fact "that the poor inhabitants of our village have increased within a few years and that demands upon the sympathies and charity of the benevolent are more frequent than formerly. In some cases of distress the relief afforded has been short of the actual wants of the sufferer, while in others, because more known, the supply has exceeded what the case required. To render the distribution of charity more equal and effectual, it is thought expedient to form a society among the ladies of Worcester, to be known by the name of the Samaritan Society." (The printed form is Female Samaritan Society.) "We propose to clothe the destitute, to provide bedding and other necessities for the sick and occasionally to assist in purchasing fuel."

Article VI provides for cutting and preparing garments, and Article XI sternly reads as follows:

"No children are to be clothed, unless the parents consent
that they shall regularly attend public worship."

A Prudential Committee selected from the "elderly ladies" of the Society was provided for. This is, I think, the first charitable organization of Worcester in the modern sense of the word, and sorry I am to say that how long it existed, what it did, and when it ceased its activities I do not know. Nothing, so far as I have ascertained, appeared in its place until 1847; so that it may have continued to function for some twenty years.

In 1833 the Young Men's Temperance Society was in existence, the Worcester Anti-slavery Society was organized in 1838 and to make a complete record and not to allow the Agricultural Society, alone of its kind, to be considered a charitable organization, I will state that the nucleus of the Worcester Natural History Society was here in 1828; the Worcester Horticultural Society was formed in 1840 and the Worcester Mechanics Association in 1842.

In 1839 appeared the Female Moral Reform Society, which, if not strictly charitable, was at least needed, if the address of one Mary Ann B. Brown before it, gives a real picture of the times, for among other "fruitful sources of licentiousness and pollution," this lady considers the public amusements of the age as true head-liners, "The most notorious being theatres, caravans and circuses, one exhibition in a town like Worcester doing more to corrupt the children and youth than the united labors of parents and guardians can repair by months of diligent labor." Young men should evidently call only in the daytime, for: "No girl should allow a man to induce her to spend with him the hours allotted by God for nature's sweet repose." It should be early to bed and, presumably, also early to rise.

No one who is inclined to speak of the degeneracy of the present times, should fail to read the address of Mary Ann Brown, who castigates the unfortunate females before her with a spiritual rod of iron. If we have been falling away from what *she* depicts as customary incidents in 1839, there is surely no hope for us, either in this world or the next.

In 1847 a committee for the relief of the poor, which later called itself the Worcester Relief Society, was formed. At first it consisted of one member from each religious society in town; but later, as its activities increased, it divided the town into twenty-two districts, with twenty-two committees of visitors, each consisting of one gentleman and two ladies. This society was organized "to protect themselves and the community from the frauds of vagrants and professional beggars and to relieve the deserving poor."

It was functioning at least as late as 1857 and probably died when activities connected with the Civil War of 1861-65 absorbed all the energies of the inhabitants of the town. Each committee was to attend to "such wants of the people in its district as do not come within the proper powers of the Overseers of the Poor." As a check against over-expenditure, eight dollars a month was allotted to each committee. They seem to have distributed from five to six hundred dollars yearly and to have assisted some 150 to 200 families during each twelve months.

Their reports give intemperance as a factor in one-third of the cases brought to their attention. With the Children's Friend Soci-

ety, founded in 1848, this society covered the ground until the Female Employment Society of 1856 came to their assistance.

To make a complete record of the older societies, now active, which originated about this time, I may state that the Enigkeit Lodge, D. O. H., appeared in 1853; in 1855, the Quinsigamond Boat Club; the Worcester Musical Association, in 1858; the Socialer Turn Verein, in 1859; although the Female Employment Society of 1856 is the only strictly charitable society in the list.

The Children's Friend Society is, then, Worcester's oldest charity, and let no one think that the Female Employment Society of 1856 is the one now in existence. It did some of the same work, but disappeared from the scene during the Civil War, the activities due to that war leaving, I presume, the women managers no time to attend to it. The Worcester Directory of 1856 states that its design is to furnish work, chiefly sewing, at a fair price to the industrious poor; finding a market for the various articles manufactured through its store on Pearl Street. "It is a very convenient institution for families who wish to put out plain sewing and especially for the lone bachelor, who may wish half a dozen shirts made up, or any little jobs of sewing done, saving him the trouble of hunting up some one to do his work and then of watching to see that it is done right, while at the same time it greatly aids many indigent persons in earning a living, who otherwise might require the aid of charity. Room in Foster's Block, on Pearl Street. Persis R. Davenport, Agent."

This notice, in an abbreviated form, appears in the directory for 1862, but after that is seen no more. Undoubtedly all its needle-women were drafted for war work. Every woman was making what was called lint, for the dressing of wounds. You took a square of old linen, preferably but not necessarily clean, raveled it, bunched the ravelings, packaged the bunches and sent the packages to the Sanitary Commission to use in dressing—I may say infecting—the wounds of the soldiers at the front and in the hospitals.

One of my earliest recollections is sitting in a little chair and working like mad to accomplish my stint and get out to play. Much of this lint, as well as many other things, went to Clara Barton, who, as early as April 22, 1861, in an advertisement in the *Worcester Spy*, asked for supplies for the Massachusetts Sixth, then quartered in

the Senate Chamber at Washington, after its bloody baptism as it passed through Baltimore on its way to the Capitol.

So much did I, a boy of eight, hear of Clara Barton during this time, that it seemed to me that the welfare of all our soldiers depended on that one woman; the only woman at the front, with her wagons, her drivers and her stores and the sight of her on one of her occasional visits to Oxford and to Worcester, to spur on our endeavors, made me willing to give up a large part of my playtime, in order to ravel more than my allotted amount of old linen.

During the war, in 1863, the Irish Catholic Benevolent Society was founded. I do not find it in the 1924 directory. In 1864 the Y. M. C. A. began its activities. In 1866 the Freedmen's Relief Society was busy sending clothing, etc., to the released slaves, expending during the year some \$3,800 and sending barrels of clothing and supplies to the Southern states.

In 1864, the so-called Female College on Providence Street, (you will observe that during the first half of the 19th century, no woman was ever for a moment allowed to forget that she was a female), now Worcester Academy, was taken over by the Government for a hospital. The buildings were empty, for the college had died several years before. Fourteen one-story wooden wards were built, the turreted building, still standing, was utilized, and Dale Hospital, with over eight hundred beds, was the first general hospital that Worcester ever saw, although devoted to wounded soldiers and wounded soldiers only. The war ending in 1865, the hospital was there but a year or two.

From 1852 to 1865, the Children's Friend Society owned and used a wooden building on Shrewsbury Street, known to all and sundry as the Orphan's Home, to house its children. It stood just below the present Shamrock Street. In fact, it still stands, or at least a part of it does, having passed through two fires during its occupancy as an orphans' home. It was cut in two when Shrewsbury Street was widened. At the time Mr. John Waldo Lincoln gave the house to the Society and for some time afterward the present Shrewsbury Street was known as Pine Street and the whole district, during my boyhood and long after, was known as Pine Meadow, or colloquially, as "The Medders."

On Shrewsbury Street, in a building next to the wooden church

of St. Anne, the Reverend John J. Power established, January 1, 1867, a hospital of a few beds, under control of the Sisters of St. Anne's Convent, for the benefit of girls living out in service. To encourage providence and maintain self-respect, a trifling monthly sum was required, by which the payee became entitled to a bed, nursing in time of sickness, or, to quote from their announcement: "By payment of \$3.00 any person may secure the right to a bed, with doctor's care, nursing and medicine for one year."

Eight thousand three hundred dollars was obtained by a fair held in October, 1866, and about fifteen patients were treated yearly for the next three or four years. This hospital was the first general hospital in Worcester, if we ignore those established for inoculation with smallpox, in the previous century, and the Wellington Hospital, which, at his own expense, Mr. T. W. Wellington maintained on Mason Street, from January to October, 1863, for the benefit of sick and disabled soldiers and the Dale Hospital previously referred to. He placed in charge of this hospital one Lunsford Lane, once a slave, doctor by courtesy, who was assisted by his wife and daughter. Dr. Oramel Martin, surgeon of the Local Board of Enrollment, visited the sick. Thirty patients could be accommodated here and perhaps one hundred in all received treatment.

The opening of the City Hospital, on the corner of Front and Church Streets, in 1871, had probably something to do with the abandonment of the Sisters' Hospital, as it was called. Dr. Leonard Wheeler, then younger than he is now, came to Worcester as its first superintendent. This hospital had, perhaps, six beds, the house standing on the lot being utilized for this purpose until after a short time the Jacques homestead on Wellington Street, with a wooden addition, became the City Hospital for the city of some 40,000 inhabitants. Eventually Jacques Avenue was opened and the present position, then in the fields, far from any house, was selected for its site.

When I was a boy, and up to 1870, the victim of a severe accident was either carried to the railroad station to await the first train to take it to the Massachusetts Hospital in Boston, was taken home, was taken to the Poor Farm, or, for temporary purposes, to a small room in the basement of the old City Hall, Front and Main Streets; the room containing a cot, a chair, some bandages, splints, plaster,

etc. From this room the seriously sick or badly injured person must soon be sent in a hack or truck wagon to one of the three destinations spoken of above.

Let me say in passing that the Female College with its one hundred students, all of whom had to attend to some part of the domestic duties of sweeping, bed-making, dusting and other household duties even after it changed its name from Worcester Female College to Ladies' Collegiate Institute, languished and died about 1860.

In 1869 the home for aged females was organized. The home for aged men was incorporated in 1874, the year before your organization, but in 1871 a number of citizens formed the Worcester People's Club, from which I think it fair to say the present Employment Society, the Boys' Club, the Flower Mission, and various other present existing charitable organizations derived the inspiration which led to their establishment. It had rooms in Grand Army Hall, open in winter from seven to nine, to boys and all that would aid in instruction and employment.

Members of the Relief and Employment Committee were at the Hall Wednesday afternoons to receive orders for work, to sell garments, and to give assistance to applicants, after careful inquiry, and sewing to such persons as were able to help themselves by doing work of this kind. The work of receiving and distributing fruit and flowers on Wednesdays was carried on by the club. The hospitality section was open every evening except Sunday. Entrance was free to members, five cents to others. Membership was one dollar a year. Henry Chapin was president in 1871, Dr. George E. Francis in 1872. It was called a Club for Hospitality, Education, and Benevolence.

Societies of all kinds began to appear in the decade, 1865 to 1875:

Ancient Order of Hibernians,	1867.
Society St. Jean Baptiste,	1868.
Knights of Pythias,	1871.
Sons of St. George,	1872.
Worcester Firemen's Relief,	1874.

All these are and were semi-charitable, their charities limited to their membership. "We visit our sick and we bury our dead," is, for instance, the motto of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

In 1875 the Employment Society was established and, in the same year, the Worcester Historical Society.

One society which is listed in the directory of 1924 as D. O. H. Enigkeit Lodge, dates from 1853. I have been unable to unravel its initials, or ascertain its objects. It may be Daughters of Harmony. The D. may stand for Devils and the H for their residencee. Initials are dangerous and I always rejoice when I see Worcester Historical Society and not W. H. S., for I graduated from the W. H. S. (Worcester High School) before the W. H. S., the second, appeared upon the scene.

Would you care to know that horse racing on Main Street during the term of the Courts was prohibited as early as 1745, so that the populace was, perforce, driven to the sights at the pillory, the stocks and the whipping post for its amusement during the intervals between the sittings; that sanatarians were early at work; that after 1792, swine were no longer permitted to run at large on Main Street; that by 1811, rolling of hoops and playing of ball by children in the streets was a criminal act, nor could more than one cow to an owner graze in the public ways, even in the daytime.

Worcester, in 1848, had 15,000 inhabitants, having doubled its population in eight years, come up from 3,650 in the thirteen years since 1825, and from about 2,000 in 1783. It is now, of course, larger by ten times than it was when the Children's Friend Society broke the ice and led the way for the numerous charities now existing.

I cannot vouch for the accuracy of my cullings from a set of directories, local histories, and pamphlets; but, such as they are, I am pleased to give them to you. For the first time since I have had the honor of being a member of this society, I have been asked to do something. I have waited a long time for the call and when it came my only regret was that it was so easy and so pleasant to respond to it. Call me again to do something for the hundredth anniversary and if available, I shall be ready.

THE RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF WORCESTER IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Charles H. Lincoln, January 11, 1929

The relative advantages of urban and rural life have long caused differences of opinion among thinkers. Which is more profitable for the individual and which better promotes the welfare of the state? At the time of the settlement of a country, the newcomers must needs devote most of their attention to agriculture although rallying centers are soon demanded for defensive purposes, and small towns come into existence. With increasing population commercial and social activities call for an exchange center, and the city is needed.

Worcester County has furnished an excellent example of this development in the location and occupation of the citizens of a progressive community. The first settlers lived upon the hills of Boylston, Leominster, Leicester, Rutland, Sutton and the present City of Worcester, which before 1800 was a village of 200 houses containing about 2000 people. Remote from the coast and without navigable rivers the county had little to fear from any foreign enemy during the Colonial wars. New England was not subject to hurricanes sweeping the highlands, and her hill settlements gave warning of the approach of Indian adversaries, at the same time aiding the defense against any attack by these or other land forces.

During this period no group of people in Central Massachusetts was larger than the present village and the problem of the comparative effects of town and country life upon citizenship had not arisen. The question had been debated elsewhere, however, and the rivalry between the two methods of living had advanced progress in each instance. In many localities it had been found that the stability of a people (a conservative force of great importance), was much aided by ownership of the home or by a financial reserve, the former more probable in the country, the latter in the city where land values were higher. These conditions had been exemplified in Britain and were familiar to the founders of New England.

Under the feudal system the city was the birthplace of freedom

and the country was under restraint. Slavery, serfdom or similar conditions of dependence upon the owner—often an absentee landlord—kept the rural laborer down while the towns were filled with self-employed men, the industrial reliance of their nation. In the centers of population also were the educational influences which favored progress. From these centers military leaders obtained the men for their armies, while civil rulers got manufactures for export and money to support the central governments. If the farms supplied most of the food and feudalism made the local authorities hostile to state and national governments in their gradual development, these aids to village liberty were but as a series of fortresses which protect the borders of a nation against attack but cannot invade the enemy's territory. With the continued growth of the central authority the local defensive units weakened in their influence, but even in their weakness they remained the real sureties of an independent democratic spirit. Industrial and social monopoly controlled the cities when political tyranny did not. For a time democracy demanded civil, industrial, and social liberty for the individual, and city life did not permit this independence.

In the economic order of progress the position of town and country were reversed. Self-employment became the distinguishing mark of agricultural pursuits and, in the words of Professor Carver of Harvard, some of the deepest students of political and social tendencies doubt if democracy can ever develop a high state of efficiency except among self-employed people. The great majority of the workers in the large indoor factories of the cities were under bosses, while upon the characteristic one-family farm or in the small household industry of Worcester County the relation of laborer and employer was almost that of an equal partnership.* Men were more independent, even when working or walking alone throughout the country sections, than is the case today. The automobile had not arrived and highway robbery was unknown.

This feeling is shown in the writing of the period. Rousseau considered the city as the center and source of human degradation and

*The average farm of the 18th century Worcester County contained about 70 acres but hardly more than ten acres were cultivated. Occasionally, as in the case of Nathan Patch of Worcester, the farmer supplied the table for his tavern which its owner made his more remunerative occupation. So long as nearly all goods, later manufactured, were made by hand, class divisions were much less important. The keeper of the country store was the banker of the neighborhood and, with the clergyman and squire, composed such aristocracy as existed.

his thought was emphasized in America. Jefferson was a pronounced advocate of individual initiative and living in rural Virginia where the county rather than the town was the administrative unit, declared in 1781: "Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God . . . The mobs of the great cities add just so much to the support of pure government as sores do to the strength of the human body."^{*}

Henry George went further: "This life of the great cities is not the natural life of man. He must, under such conditions, deteriorate physically, mentally."†

In 1844 Ralph Waldo Emerson thought that if the cities held an equal place in society it was because they drained the country towns of their best. Other writers like Max Nordau stressed the unfavorable influences of the city severely, and G. B. Longstaff, one of the best-known statisticians of England, so recently as 1893 concluded: "That the town life is not so healthy as the country is a proposition that cannot be contradicted." One might visit the city but should live outside its borders. In the words of Theodore Roosevelt (1907): "No growth of cities, no growth of wealth, can make up for any loss in either the number or the character of the farming population!"

It will be noticed that I have used the past tense in this discussion of the economic and political advantages of the country. You may have wondered why this manner of statement. It is because such were the relative benefits of the rural community but they have not continued. Conditions have changed since 1800 until even the food on the city table is much more varied than that of its rural neighbor, and the old-time self-sufficient farm is rarely seen in Massachusetts. The marked inferiority of the distinctly country sections in provisions for public health and community sanitation as also for public education is well known. The press and the radio are doing much to equalize information facilities, but that very individuality which is considered a prominent blessing of rural life hinders united ad-

*In this matter as in some others Thomas Hutchinson, last royalist governor of Massachusetts, differed from Jefferson. The Massachusetts executive, at that time in the General Court, opposed the creation of Worcester County for the reason that it was composed so largely of hill country, sparsely inhabited, that it would never amount to anything. The industrial possibilities of the Blackstone and Nashua rivers from New Hampshire to Rhode Island were yet to be made evident in 1731 when the County was established or at the time of Jefferson's statement a half-century later. The two rivers were merely the center of a fertile valley which divided the eastern and western hills.

†*Social Problems*, p. 317. George could not anticipate the advantages of the automobile nor the changes resulting from increased interest in sports.

vance. Public and private charities are more efficiently conducted in important towns, and no resident of a city so large as Worcester lacks opportunity to become a member of some religious and social group which will broaden and strengthen his life.

A century ago Chancellor James Kent of New York predicted that industrial employes would soon be unable to use their ballots freely according to the dictates of good citizenship.* If this condition exists today it is not because of city residence. Rural voters no less than their urban cousins are sometimes led by political bosses. The wider opportunity for mutual acquaintance within the city aids that assimilation of alien race or religious groups so essential to good citizenship. Although the governments of American cities are much criticized and the rapid growth of our municipalities has prevented the careful development through which our national institutions matured, European cities, if better governed today, have gone through like periods of corruption. Our cities have more duties than the nearby central governments of Europe have allowed towns to undertake. These many functions have caused a severe strain on our administrative machinery but unless we admit that the American people are inferior to Europeans in political capacity we may confidently expect higher standards to prevail in American local government as the field of municipal activity becomes more distinct. Only corrupt men of wealth are dangerous.

On the other side, if the strength of a nation depends upon a numerous peasantry, Russia should lead the world for hardly 12½% of her people live in Jefferson's mob-ridden cities. Few thinkers, however, will claim that Russia equals in civilization the more highly urbanized countries. Russia's greater area has not even given more or better food. New Zealand and the South African Union are the best examples of efficiently governed rural countries today, but it should be remembered that the founders of these nations inherited their political ability and customs from their urban English fathers.

In America also the first immigrants from England, France, and Holland brought a store of political, religious, and social experiences with them. The Dutch Walloons and the French Huguenots, as well as the English Pilgrims, Puritans, Presbyterians, and Friends were well prepared to develop a stalwart civilization upon the west-

*Proceedings and Debates of the New York Const. Convention, 1821.

ern coasts of the Atlantic Ocean. In the village church, store, and tavern was developed that habit of coöperative discussion and action which made a new nation.

The plantation system of the Southern states lacked these spurs to united effort although political theory was no less influential. In consequence Patrick Henry and Jefferson could speak and write for our fathers in 1770, but the Northern colonies furnished the foundation of political experience. The mother country wondered where America from Boston to Philadelphia obtained her sagacity in public affairs. Governor Shirley could have told her; or had she followed the advice of Burke or Pitt and sent scouts into the stores and taverns of New England she could have learned from their reports how to retain her colonies. Benjamin Franklin could have taught diplomacy to most Britons; the Adams family were statesmen as were Morris and Washington.

Today public sentiment crystallizes in the city more readily than in the country. Urban life favors civil and political liberty because city voters are able to combine more effectively. It promotes initiative and leadership through increased competition. The movement to the cities is caused by economic forces and would not have taken place had it not favored economic efficiency. Emerson judged truly that the city draws to itself many of the highest grade rural people; but to a far greater extent than the thinkers of a century ago anticipated city and country have grown together and advanced unitedly. If the 19th century farmer who depended upon outside workmen had to defer to his helper when he wished to retain his services, the 20th century employer, whether in city or country, has to give tactful consideration to all labor. Restricted immigration and workmen's unions have made the employe more independent at the same time that increased use of machinery has multiplied the yield of both rural and urban producer. That independence so highly praised as a rural product has by coöperation and administrative ability been extended to the city resident in a manner undreamed of by earlier philosophers. Many urban statesmen have shown ability such as John Paul Jones had at sea and Nathanael Greene upon the land in the American Revolution.

Between 1825 and 1925 the hours of farm labor needed to produce

20 bushels of wheat in the United States declined from $61\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$, and this decreased labor cost was duplicated in practically all crops where level fields as contrasted with New England's rocky hills made farm machinery easily usable. In consequence Worcester County became a manufacturing district; and the former grain farms supplied dairy products, hay and table vegetables for the adjacent centers of population. Until 1840 the rivers of the county furnished sufficient water power for her mills; and the Blackstone Canal until 1834 and the railway connection with Boston (1835), Norwich (1840), Providence (1847), and Springfield (1849), brought the wood and later the coal for power where there were no waterfalls. These highways of commerce, with the northern railroads (1846-1849), gave an outlet for the manufactured product so that both urban and rural conditions were transformed.*

The scientific information furnished by the agricultural colleges applied business methods to land cultivation. It aided the farmers of Massachusetts and Iowa, but brought different results in the two cases by showing the most profitable crop for each farm and the most efficient method of harvesting. In Worcester County it emphasized dairy, fruit, and poultry products as well as market gardening and indoor industry; in Iowa it increased the product of wide-spreading farm labor. The Eastern County brought the yield of farm, forest, and mine under its roofs and transformed it into finished goods, while the Western shire purchased more machinery and manufactured commodities from the East.

As early as 1830 the Blackstone River furnished power for 150 plants employing 30,000 men. The next half-century saw a small increase in the number of mills, but over twice as many operatives employed in them, with three times as great a product. The commodities produced reached the consumer easily because of the large local market and improved railroad communication. In 1930 the annual value of Worcester's woolen and worsted manufactures alone was over \$10,000,000. In her total manufactures she ranks second in New England, and although under a geographical handi-

*Lake Quinsigamond was considered so great an obstacle to railroad construction in 1830 that the Boston line came near to passing on the southern side of Worcester, a route more nearly in accord with the direction of Springfield, the course of earlier travelers and commerce from Boston and Salem known as the Bay Path, and made famous by J. G. Holland in his book of that name. The earlier name of Springfield was Agawam.

cap so far as western markets are concerned she is near the coast as the foreign field opens.*

A different situation is noticeable also in the lumber industry. Of 970,000 acres of land in rural Worcester County, 630,000 are forest or brush pasture with 350,000 better fitted for wood than for any other crop. The Massachusetts Forestry Association declares that much of our lumber might be produced at home, yet 80% of the amount used for building and woodworking came first from Maine and later from our Southern states, Canada, or the Pacific Coast.

Much the same is true of sheep raising, so important a resource fifty years ago. Not over 10% of the number of sheep found in New England's pastures in 1875 could be counted there today; but in harmony with the demand for diversification, improved sheep culture is again advocated to accompany dairy farming, the resulting gain in meats for the local market giving the proprietor an important secondary yield. In short, the present day emphasizes by-products as well as mass production. To quote Henry Ford: "The moment the farmer considers himself as an individualist, with a horror of waste either in material or men . . . his profits will be so satisfactory that farming will be considered as among the least hazardous of occupations and all will have enough to eat." "The growth of the city is a good thing, but it must not be at the expense of the country. Let both advance harmoniously and concurrently!" (Theodore Roosevelt, 1907.)

In this manner individualism will be strengthened and the urban and rural citizen brought together. The same result is being accomplished as manufacturing plants move away from population centers. The economic value of decreased rent has long been recognized; and the advantage of increased amounts of light and sunshine is being realized, especially in occupations such as printing where good eyesight and close application are required. Workmen must not strain their eyes at home, another reason why the urban employe is living in the country much more than formerly.

*This growth of new industries has been aided by the increased use of gas and electricity as power producers instead of water, or by steam from coal engines. During 1928 the Worcester Gas Light Co. delivered 255,375,000 cubic feet of gas to industries and the Electric Light Co. supplied its power customers with 5,550,000 kilowatt hours in December alone. The total value of the products of Worcester's 515 manufactories in 1927 was over \$190,000,000; the average number of workmen 1927-29 was 30,162, and over \$40,000,000 a year was paid in wages. The depression has largely decreased these figures but today is not a normal time.

During the fifteen years since the World War the number of houses in our nation has grown rapidly. House-building has surpassed all previous records. Engineering and building contracts for residences in the first half of 1928 exceeded one and one-half billion dollars, nearly 20% more than for the corresponding period of 1927 and much more than during the average half-year of the previous decade. The work has been largely the replacement of houses built during the heavy immigration preceding the war and results from the improved character of American labor following our introduction of restriction, but the increase has been chiefly in rural construction.

The total gain of 20% for the half-year was 5% more than the advance in population for the decade 1910-20, but the increase in urban houses for our twenty-five largest cities was 10% less than that advance. More than this it has been the suburban sections of the cities which have yielded such gains as have there been made. We have seen the outlying streets of Worcester and the more traveled thoroughfares of our neighboring towns gradually become lined with homes until city and nearby county is almost one community. Here indeed is the secret of the progress of both city and county. They have advanced unitedly. Worcester's 200,000 people make her the largest inland city in America not located on a navigable water-way. Her automobiles and railroads furnishing close connections with the surrounding towns have broken down the rigidity of village life and given the entire county the benefits of nearly all the urban activities, for the real boundaries of a city today are marked out by its commuters.

Not all of this advantage resulted from the building of railways. So early as 1783 the *Massachusetts Spy* called attention to the "handsome stage waggons" passing through Worcester on the route from Boston to Hartford with the consequent increase in the carrying of goods and news, "the whole or any part of the way." Other stage routes to the North and South followed the East and West venture, bringing additional sections of the county closer to its shire town.* Today when 90% of our families have automobiles

*The opening of the Blackstone Canal in 1828 aided traffic to the south, but had few passengers. Early stage routes were from the present Cherry Valley to Worcester, from Barre to Worcester, and within the present city limits. The most famous owner of these lines was Ginery Twitchell of Athol (1811-83). About 1830 he was using over two hundred horses upon his various routes. As assistant superintendent, superintendent, and later

and telephones, and everyone can use the rural free delivery or street cars for shopping, the comparative importance of the steam railroads has diminished, but their construction from 1835 to 1850 marked Worcester's growth to city importance and increased the business unity of the county.

Since 1848 despite several efforts to divide the territory, Worcester and her neighbors have drawn more closely together. Perhaps the most evident sign of this family growth has been the building movement to which I have referred. Another mark of union is the extent to which our large dry-goods and furnishing houses have extended their trade into the surrounding county towns. One such firm states that its business outside the city is as extensive as within when the difference in population is considered. One of our largest wholesale houses reports only 10% of its county sales as outside the city, but states that of the goods purchased by urban dealers a considerable fraction is resold to rural citizens so that the real town and city distribution varies but little from the population ratio.

When we turn from trade statistics to the character of Worcester's people, the close connection between city and county is equally significant. Are Worcester's leading citizens of urban or rural birth? Are her institutions used by both county and city residents? To what extent has the city aided the county and how much have the smaller communities contributed to the municipality? At the outset it should be stated that Worcester for the past twenty years has been about one-third foreign born. Our recently adopted policy of restricted immigration is decreasing this proportion, but the full effects of the change are not yet apparent. About the same number that were born under other flags were born within the city limits and another third has come to us from rural American homes.

The national and state censuses are my authority for the first statement.* My other conclusions are based on several biographical accounts of Worcester's citizenship. According to one such work

president of the Boston and Worcester Railroad, 1848-66, Twitchell is an excellent representative of the transition from stage to railway traffic. The Worcester office of the Northern and Southern stage in 1830 was at Cyrus Stockwell's Central Hotel. See Stockwell's Account against John Davis of December 18, 1830, in the manuscript collections of this Society. The reference to the stage wagons is from the *Spy* of October 30, 1783; and we all know how necessary the automobile is today.

*During 1928, of 3,997 births in Worcester, 2,227 were of native, 1,008 of foreign, and 702 of mixed parentage. For the county the figures were 8,889, 4,844, 2,247, and 1,798 respectively. The county has about 1,500 square miles with over 500,000 people of whom 200,000 are in Worcester.

published in 1919 and giving biographies of 1215 representative citizens, but 487 were born in any city and but 362 or 30% in the city of Worcester. Over twice as many (728) were natives of rural communities of which our own county towns furnished 262. In other words, 60% of Worcester's representative citizenship is rural born, and 42% of those born in our county came from its towns and villages. A second series of biographies published in 1924 and covering the county furnishes practically the same ratio for its Worcester residents. According to this compilation 62½% of Worcester's population is rural born, and 43% of the persons coming from Worcester County are from the rural sections.

This proportion between city and county is true for the alumni and students of our leading educational institutions supported by private funds. Of 284 Worcester County students at our Polytechnic Institute 1927-28, 40% (113) were from other than Worcester homes. Of the county students (53) at Worcester Academy during 1932 45% (24) were from the rural towns. At Holy Cross College 37½% (82) of the student body coming from the entire county (220) had their homes outside of Worcester, while at Clark University the percentage was 30 (36 of 122). Twenty-two of the 54 members of the class of 1929 at Clark were from Worcester, a ratio of over 40%.

Thus the proportion for the four schools is 37½% or 38% depending on whether the four distinct ratios or the whole student body be used as the basis for securing the final average. These summaries do not include the second generation. If we should add to the number of our citizens born outside of Worcester those whose parents were newcomers, the proportions would be considerably larger; for with each generation the population of a large community becomes more stable and more newcomers are required to maintain a given ratio.

It may be urged that the examples cited are not sufficient to furnish valid conclusions for a city of 200,000 people, but in reply to any such possible criticism I suggest that the proportion of urban born in the lists used is possibly higher than for the unlisted thousands. Old families rather than recent arrivals are found in biographical registers and are also better represented in our endowed schools. Even if Emerson's belief of 1844 that the city drains the

country of its best be accepted today, these newcomers do not find their way immediately into biographical dictionaries. On the other hand, the children of parents who contributed much to Worcester's growth during the past generation have rarely been separated from their heritage. The laborer rather than the employer has come from the country town and has neither made his way into the biographical accounts nor sent his children to the endowed schools. Our percentages of county-born citizens, when based on the authorities quoted, are therefore too small rather than too large.

In return for the assistance received from the county, Worcester has helped her surrounding towns by the educational advantages she has given them. The example of her public schools and libraries has done something, and the opportunity of using her endowed schools and research libraries has availed more. The figures given show the manner in which these offered advantages have been accepted. Another hint is found in the out of town persons who use the reference room of our public library, to say nothing of those who seek and find help in other collections of books, manuscripts, and prints maintained within the city. Many non-residents take books from the reference department of the public library and who will estimate the educational profit of the newspaper, the radio, and the printing press—all city products!

It is worth noting at this point that 38% of the alumni of our endowed schools and colleges living in the county find their homes outside the city limits, and 30% are both resident and working in the rural section. These proportions are practically the same as those for the students of the same institutions although the individuals differ in the two cases. In reliance upon these various sources there are to be found scattered throughout Worcester County many social and educational centers, from the family with several members participating in profitable discussion to the library or reading circle of the village; which together constitute a firm rival in influence to the village store of the early 19th century. The same questions are considered in city and county, and gradually the same conclusions are being reached. If more people come to the city for diversion than was the case seventy-five years ago, it is but another mark of county union, for as many from the city find recreation outside her borders, and the city resident takes his home influence with him.

In political matters Worcester City and County have for years acted together. By coöperative effort the County came into existence in April, 1731, under Governor Belcher.* Worcester was selected as shire town, thus giving its name to the county, rather because of its central location than because of strenuous effort on its own part to secure a prize. Other towns—Brookfield, Lancaster, Mendon and Sutton—were larger and wealthier. In the opinion of some thinkers court sessions held in shire towns were very apt to bring degrading influences in their train and for that reason they hoped Worcester would not be the capital of the county.

Another excellent example of harmonious political action may be seen in the men whom the Worcester district has elected to represent her in our National House of Representatives. Our first Representative, Jonathan Grout of Petersham, had served in both the French War and the Revolution while his Federalist opponent, Timothy Paine of Worcester, was somewhat handicapped by Loyalist antecedents. For the following (second) Congress Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury defeated both Grout and John Sprague of Lancaster, serving until 1795, although for the second half of this period Ward shared his honors with Dwight Foster of Brookfield as the second Massachusetts district consisted of Berkshire, Hampshire, and Worcester Counties and elected four representatives, two of whom were from our own towns.

During the following century 21 men were sent by the Worcester District to the House of Representatives at Washington. Eleven of these were residents of county towns, among them such men as Dwight Foster of Brookfield, Charles Hudson of Westminster, and Amasa Walker of North Brookfield. From this city came Charles Allen, Eli Thayer, and George F. Hoar. The last two of these men were not born in Worcester; and John Davis, perhaps Worcester County's foremost national legislator before the Civil War, is claimed by Northboro, his birthplace, by Spencer where he lived for years, and by Worcester, his home during his period of service.†

*Worcester County was incorporated by an act passing the General Court April 2, 1731. It included parts of Hampshire, Middlesex, and Suffolk Counties—one, eight and six towns respectively. It took effect July 10, and the county was given certain adjacent lands by Act passed April 12, 1753.

†Davis served in the House of Representatives from 1825 to 1834; in the Senate 1835-1840, and 1845-1853. Levi Lincoln, another prominent statesman of Worcester County before 1860 came from this city, Eli Thayer the able advocate of free soil was born in Mendon, later living in Worcester, and Charles Allen is claimed by Braintree and the shire town.

It is readily seen from this list that between the inauguration of our present national government and 1895 urban and rural sections of the county had an almost equal number of representatives from the Worcester District. What is even more interesting is that if terms of service be compared, city and towns held the offices fifty-three years each. During the last thirty-eight years the whole county has been in no one district so that it is impossible for either an urban or rural citizen to be the sole representative of both city and county. It has been the feeling of Worcester County national legislators, however, during this later period that the interests of city and county have been inseparable, and that each of her sixty-one communities shows the progress and prosperity of the whole. Who would say that in the present differences of political views city and country are on opposite sides or that financial opinion is united in either section? Each party claims it is working for the best interests of both city and country.

The religious history of our county illustrates the same principle. During the first years the colonial church building with its spire pointing to God in His heaven and its nave signifying the social and religious ideals and needs of the congregation furnished one of the finest, because one of the most representative types of architecture America has given the world. These buildings were the homes of Congregational religious societies as early as 1716 and were sometimes used as judicial centers. Since then this denomination has continued, and for a century was the most effective religious organization in both city and county. In the latter portion of this period, other religious groups appeared and in several instances the rural parish led the way to the city.

In an earlier article I have spoken of the Monthly Meetings of the Friends at Uxbridge and Leicester dating from July, 1783, as the antecedents of the Worcester society. Charlton, at that time a part of Oxford, had Baptist services as early as 1762, the parish being incorporated in 1804. The covenant of the Grafton Baptist Church was signed by fifty-two members in 1767, and there were at least three persons of that denomination in Worcester in 1795.*

*Dolly Flagg, Dr. John Green, and Amos Putnam were the most prominent Baptists in Worcester in 1795. James Wilson who came from Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, in this year was a fourth ardent supporter of the Baptist faith. Rev. William Bentley remained in charge of this church until June, 1815. He was succeeded in September by Rev. Jonathan Going, who organized the church school.

Brookfield and Leicester also had Baptist families and on December 9, 1812, a Baptist Mission was founded in Worcester under the care of Rev. William Bentley and supervised by the mother church at Tiverton, R. I. Delegates from churches in Charlton, Grafton, Leicester, Sutton, and Providence formed the council which assisted in the organization of the Worcester church. The influence of Worcester members of the Putnam family of Charlton, the Fosters from Brookfield, and the Greens from Leicester in the formation of this new parish was marked, and this church gave to the county its first Sabbath school.

Although Rev. Freeborn Garretson looked over the ground in 1790, the Methodists of Worcester were not sufficient in number to warrant a church at that time. Occasional services were held during the next two decades and Rev. John E. Risley of the Milford Methodist Circuit of 1790 preached at Worcester in 1823. Nine years later a permanent society was formed, and on July 8, 1834, a local church was established under Rev. George Pickering. This denomination has increased steadily since that date.

In the same year the Universalists began their work here under the guidance of their Oxford Society, definite organization dating from June 3, 1841.* In 1834 also Rev. James Fitton of Hartford was selected by Bishop Fenwick of the Roman Catholic Communion at Boston to visit Worcester once a month although his audience came largely from Clappville and Millbury, where laborers on the Blackstone canal and the Boston railroad had their homes.

At about the same time (1835-36) the Episcopalians held services within the bounds of the present city. These were conducted by Rev. Thomas H. Vail, but no permanent parish was organized until July 21, 1843. We have already noted 1835 as marking the transition period to the commercial and economic unity of Worcester County. The same date may, without serious error, be taken as that from

*Among the manuscripts of this Society is a copy by Nancy Meriam of North Gore, Oxford, of a twenty-one-page sermon preached at Rutland, Vt., on "Universal Salvation, A Very Ancient Doctrine with some Account of the Life and Character of its Author." This sermon by Rev. Lemuel Haynes outlines the origin of the Universalist faith thus: The happiness of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden was exceptional, for there was but one tree of whose fruit they were forbidden to eat. Into this garden "a certain preacher in his journey came and disturbed their peace and tranquillity by endeavoring to reverse the prohibition of the Almighty by declaring: 'Ye shall not surely die if ye eat of the fruit of this tree . . .' The preacher I would observe has many names given him in the Sacred Writing; the most common is the devil." There is much more condemning Universalism, but I quote no further as my purpose is merely to show that the belief had adherents in the county as early as 1820, else it would not have been considered necessary for a Sabbath-school teacher of 1819 to warn her students against the doctrine.

which Worcester has shared her religious life with her neighbors and received new impulses from them. Because of this interchange, progress and harmony have more and more replaced divisions based upon racial and religious traditions.

The story is the same in all lines of activity. The county center has developed the more backward communities by loans, by sharing its educational resources and by sending out individuals prepared to use their knowledge for the mutual benefit of city and county. From the center has come commercial leadership without industrial domination, for the city has obtained from the country a new vigor which has helped to maintain the efficiency of the urban population. As the modern church building signifies a wider field of activity than the old or as the federated church is replacing the struggling and competing units of varying creeds, so the County of Worcester once divided into forty-one small political, industrial and social communities, each a rival of its neighbors, is becoming a harmonious family. Since 1763 various attempts to divide the County have failed,* for easier communication by stage, railroad, and automobile has gradually brought its members more closely together.

This change of sentiment is important, for the relation between population centers and their contributing suburbs is ever becoming more significant in our local and national life. The more fully city and county supply each other's needs, the more ideal becomes their relationship. Worcester County began her life as a group of disconnected farms. Gradually competition increased as connections became closer. Later development has multiplied productive resources, changed competition to coöperation until today rural and urban activities supplement each other. The result has been an increased total of economic and social welfare created by all and shared by its creators. Today Worcester County is doing much for state and nation. With her rural and urban interests coöperating harmoniously she faces the future with confidence. She believes herself able to excel her past attainments, is not cast down by present industrial and financial conditions; and will not allow any group or any one of her citizens to live or labor under circumstances which are injurious to the common welfare.

*See: *Worc. Hist. Soc. Publications*, N. S. I, 169, where these attempted divisions are discussed.

WILLIAM WOODWARD

Memorial Sketch by Z. W. Coombs

William Woodward was born in Worcester Oct. 23, 1856, and died there Dec. 31, 1933. He was the son of Francis Gardner and Mary Phillips Woodward, and came of Revolutionary ancestry. Educated in the public schools of his native town, he was graduated from the Worcester High School in 1874, and entered at once upon the career of a banker. In this calling he achieved marked success, rising from the position of clerk in the old Central National Bank, to that of cashier.

In 1903 this bank was amalgamated with four other banks of the city and Mr. Woodward remained with the new bank until 1905, having as his especial field the adjustment of outside business matters for the new consolidation. His work led him to becoming interested in the Allen-Higgins Wall Paper Company of this city, which was in financial difficulties. The bankers who were interested in this concern were on the point of giving it up to its creditors, saving what they could.

Mr. Woodward saw possibilities in the business, purchased it in 1907, and placed it on a firm and prosperous basis. This successful undertaking was only one of many that he carried out after he had withdrawn from active banking. He had early become interested in the administration of trusts, in bankruptcy, and receivership matters, and his skill in such cases, together with his absolute fidelity and uprightness, kept him constantly occupied.

Mr. Woodward's record in church and in civic matters was notable. For almost fifty years he was a member of Piedmont Congregational Church, having previously been a member of the old Salem Square Congregational Church. In Piedmont Church he served on the standing committee for forty years, was auditor for fifteen, and was chairman of the special committee on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the church. For this celebration he compiled the historical sketch. Two years ago he became a member of Union Church. For many years he was an active member of the Worcester Congregational Club.

Interested in all good works of a civic nature, Mr. Woodward was

active in the Young Men's Christian Association, serving as its president from 1883 to 1885. During his administration the membership of the association was increased to over 1000, and through this increase and the stimulated interest in the city, the fine new building of the Association on Elm Street was made possible. At the laying of the corner-stone of this new structure, Mr. Woodward read the historical address; the dedicatory address being delivered by Dwight L. Moody. Mr. Woodward served on the board of directors of that association for many years, and never lost his interest in the welfare of young men.

Perhaps one of the most important services rendered to the city by Mr. Woodward was his work in connection with the reorganization and rehabilitation of the Worcester Historical Society, a work which was shared by our Executive Director, Professor Cutler, to whom equal credit is due. Under the direction of these two men financial support was secured, the collections were reorganized, and the building was renovated and improved; in short the Society entered upon a new lease of life. To Mr. Woodward and to Professor Cutler may justly be ascribed therefore the actual existence and present prosperity of this Society. During his presidency of the Society Mr. Woodward worked unceasingly for its success, and after his retirement from office his interest in it never flagged. He was most effective in organizing historical material, in compiling volumes on matters of local history, of his own travels and those of his family, and on Piedmont Church. He organized and maintained to date a carefully indexed file of newspaper clippings relating to local history. Of especial note were three memorial volumes concerning the late Senator Hoar, which Mr. Woodward compiled immediately after Mr. Hoar's death in 1904. These volumes, of great value, in preserving facts of the senator's life and funeral services, were presented to the library of Clark University.

Active as Mr. Woodward was in so many fields of civic usefulness, he nevertheless found time to write many articles on his favorite subject, banking. To the *Bankers' Magazine* he contributed a series of papers on the history of savings banks in Massachusetts, and these papers were later collected and published in book form, the title being, "History of Savings Banks in Massachusetts." For the same magazine he wrote a series of papers on "Our Future Money," and

these were afterward published in book form. These works indicate deep thought and sound common sense, qualities that were characteristic of the writer.

Such a man naturally became affiliated with many organizations. Mr. Woodward was one of the founders of the Federated Charities of Worcester, serving as vice-president for several years. He had been a director of the Children's Friend Society for a long period, a trustee of the Peoples' Savings Bank, a director of the Worcester Mutual Fire Insurance Company and a director of the Chamber of Commerce. He was a charter member of the Economic Club, and belonged to the Sons of the American Revolution, also to the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. A charter member of the Memorial Home for the Blind, he had served as its treasurer for eighteen years. He had been a trustee of Doane College, Crete, Nebraska, and was for many years secretary and treasurer of the Home for Aged Women. He was a trustee and clerk of the Baldwinville Hospital for Children, for several years, was president and director of the City Missionary Society, and a commissioner of Hope Cemetery from 1906 to 1929, for three years acting as Chairman of the Commission. He also served on many city committees appointed for special occasions.

Mr. Woodward was long a member of the Worcester Historical Society and was president of the Society from 1920 to 1922 and 1926-1928. To us of the Society his connection with it and his faithful service when this service was most needed make a powerful appeal.

On the sixth of September, 1883, Mr. Woodward married Caroline I. Stone, of Auburn, Massachusetts, the daughter of Elisha and Hannah H. P. Stone. Besides his wife he leaves four children, Mrs. Hugh C. Stewart, of Detroit, Michigan, Walter F. Woodward, of Greenville, South Carolina, George W. Woodward, of Hartford, Connecticut, and Harold S. Woodward, of New Rochelle, New York. Three grandchildren also survive.

William Woodward was a splendid type of New England gentleman. Quiet and unassuming, he nevertheless had a remarkable gift of accomplishing tasks and of securing results. His ideals were always high, and every good cause found in him a friend. To him and to his co-worker, Executive Director Cutler, this Society owes not only its present prosperity and effectiveness but its very exis-

tence today. They took it when it was approaching shipwreck, and they steered it safely, reorganized and strengthened, through the treacherous reefs and shoals, to a new life of utmost value to this community. Such men as Mr. Woodward, in their quiet way, have made city, state, and nation what they are and what they ought to be. We mourn his passing from the scene of his earthly activity and accomplishment, but we rejoice greatly that he has lived among us, and we know that his good works and his influence will abide in this community for years to come, made richer for what he was and for what he did.

WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Annual Report of the Executive Director (for the year, May 31,
1932 to June 1, 1933) rendered June 9, 1933

Total number of visitors	2788
Total number of accessions,	
to Library, including MSS.	216
to Museum	175
Total annual income,	
from membership dues,	\$909.00
from interest on invested funds	\$2,037.21
	\$2,946.21

Total expenditures, \$2,856.56.

Real estate free from debt valued at \$27,900.

Beyond these bare statistics it has been my thought that perhaps reports from the Director for this year just closed need not go. My full and carefully studied report of a year ago was printed in detail in our April publication, and conditions at your headquarters have not to outward appearance greatly changed since then. In connection with that report I took the liberty of making some forward-looking suggestions that seemed to me worth your consideration. So far, however, they have drawn out very little comment, and you surely will not wish the valuable time of this meeting taken up with another installment of results of my personal observations among museums elsewhere or of my personal study of plan and policy in administering our own institution. I grow no less confident of the public importance of the work we are trying to do or of the instruction and recreation to be derived from our large and growing and valuable collections; but a lengthy report at this time on what I may have learned through our various contacts with people and institutions could do little or nothing to quicken public realization of our needs as a society or your satisfaction in lending support to this particular institution of fifty-eight years' standing in Worcester.

The meeting here of the Bay State Historical League last April has been pronounced a decided success both by those of our own

membership who took time to attend and by letters from officers and members of the League itself who came to us from a distance. We owe very much to those of our number who in self-sacrificing spirit contributed greatly to make this a marked feature of our season's activities.

The New England Conference of the National Association of Museums is to meet in Worcester next October. For this occasion we share with other older, larger, and wealthier local institutions the responsibilities of hosts. It will bring together interesting and interested people from a wider section of the country, but I can not venture the assertion that you will find it more worthy of your consideration than was the April meeting just referred to.

The eight regular monthly meetings of the Society have entered into our history, and some have thought them well worth while. Those who have not attended will not know what they have missed or what they have escaped, even if this report were to attempt a characterization of them. The secretary has done this in his discriminating reports from time to time.

The closing of the building to children below the seventh school grade has somewhat simplified the problem of administration, and can not be thought to have lessened the aggregate service of the Society to the community. Young children can still come if accompanied by parent or teacher. You have perhaps noted that the total number of visitors this year is distinctly larger than that of the season of 1931-32.

The Special Temporary Exhibits should attract your fuller attention, for they have been of much significance. The Tilton Collection has only temporarily given way to the exhibit you certainly will wish to see tonight, that of the important accessions to both Library and Museum from the estate of Miss Frances C. Morse. The very significant addition to the income-producing funds of the Society from this same source can hardly be suggested under the glass of a museum case, but it will find important place in the report from the Treasurer when this bequest has been paid in. These Morse bequests to the Museum, temporarily shown together downstairs, are of intrinsic value in themselves, and are important also as enduring evidence of the good will of a long-time friend of our Society who will no longer lend visible support in our task.

You may perhaps expect me also to make mention in some, even if slight, detail of other gifts of the year besides those coming by will from Miss Morse directly. The full set of Mrs. Alice Morse Earle's books, together with Miss Morse's own book on "Furniture in the Olden Time" and her copy of Eduart's book on Silhouettes we owe to the courtesy of Mrs. Moore, Miss Morse's niece, though they, like the Staffordshire plates, the pewter communion set, and the Westborough chair, are all from Miss Morse's own collections.

As the Accession Books will show, other valuable gifts—largely to Mrs. Forbes's exceedingly interesting department of costumes—have come from Dr. and Mrs. S. B. Woodward, from Mrs. S. T. Hobbs and others; Rogers Groups have been received from Mrs. Gray and the Andrews family, Indian relics from Dr. Brown, whose extensive collections of Indian tools and implements were shown for a week at the MacInnes store and are now at the Chicago Exposition. Many other important historical symbols, too numerous to mention individually but all duly recorded and acknowledged, are worthy of individual mention if space allowed.

All such details as I have been enumerating have to do with the outward, visible activities of your organization. Besides, there is the mass of work that goes on unobserved and perhaps unrealized, the value of which may not come to light till in the indefinite future, when perhaps some student will find invaluable assistance through the use of Dr. Lincoln's catalogue of the manuscripts or Mr. Colegrove's carefully prepared files of printed matter. This organization of material is what makes a library out of just piles of merely manufactured pamphlets and books or scribbled sheets of paper; it is what transforms mere junk into a library or a museum. Without this we are just a rubbish heap. With it we hope to be recognized as a worthy part of the educational system.

To carry this idea a little further: The best classified and organized and labelled collection of *things* may remain limp and lifeless and useless unless interpreted through vital, human personality. A library must have a live librarian; curators of a real museum are something vastly different from a burglary alarm or plain-clothes men. An alert, studious, friendly corps of executives, people familiar with the story of the community and in sympathy with all sorts and conditions of hungry and thirsty minds, have a vital part in

administering an institution like the one for which you are responsible when you elect your officers. Mark Hopkins, a log, and a boy made a nineteenth century university. A pair of millstones or a Peter Whitney history or a Beaman Ms. with a historically-minded, sympathetic man beside them comes nearer to being a museum or a library than is a collection of thousands of dusty, uninterpreted tools and other symbols of a neglected past.

It may be much the same with an institution on its organizational side. Endowments, a building, and a set of by-laws do not make a historical society. There must be plan, system, orderly conduct of business, study of a widening opportunity, and search for the right people to lead toward the real end in view; there must be an enlarging group of friends ready to do their part in obtaining results. All this and more makes an organization out of mere brick and stone and junk heaps. This broad chasm the Worcester Historical Society has not yet fully crossed. Through orderly business methods, more intelligent study of our problem, a clearer grasp of the fundamental relation between the past, the present, and the future it is yet to emerge into that degree of aliveness that will make it worthy of the task that was assigned it fifty-eight years ago. Perhaps we need a new constitution; perhaps we need more members; perhaps more funds; perhaps we need more power of imagination to realize why we hold a valuable piece of real estate free from taxation because we are supposed to be an educational institution. We certainly need, as everyone who comes to see our collections recognizes, more floor and wall space for the effective utilization of our treasures. It is particularly along this line of effective, orderly, businesslike administration that Mr. Whitman's coöperation is to be more and more appreciated. With no janitor or uniformed attendants on the three floors of the building, no office clerks, a cleaning woman only two mornings a week, no active committees to care for countless details, with much coming and going during the active part of the day and more than can be generally known during what may be thought of as inactive, it goes without saying that the four who are regularly present in the afternoon do not stand idle at the windows watching the varied activities of Armory Square.

To some extent, as appears from facts above stated and suggested, our organization is proving itself of some interest to its members

and to a visiting and contributing public. But its main purpose is not to relieve congestion of things in crowded households, nor to amuse the curious nor to invite reminiscence. It represents abroad in the community the important idea that "The past lives in the present and moves with the present into the future." It is not for us to encourage, as so many are doing, the basing of one's philosophy of life on the two premises that history is bunk and the past has been all wrong, and from these premises to deduce the conclusion that nothing is really wholesome for a lost social order but the latest devices for reducing honest work to a minimum by labor-saving inventions and for stilling a normally sensitive conscience by varied diversions. Amusing, entertaining, diverting a morally earnest people is quite a different matter from furnishing *recreation* through remembering things, not through trying to forget them. Our time needs to think upon the sources and springs from which the present comfort comes while lamenting the immediate need of opportunity for honest work of which the past has had an over-supply.

We welcome to our building in particular those who are interested in some line of studious inquiry, whether family or local history or industrial and social progress, and we find that we have valuable resources for such students. For the many who come in need of recreation or encouragement in days of depression or incentive, we take much satisfaction in pointing to the resourcefulness of those who have gone before us in meeting their peculiar difficulties, in widening their outlook upon nature, truth, and duty.

With young people in particular we insist that our growing museum is not just a collection of thousands of individual *things*, but rather that as a whole it is a demonstration of the progress of Worcester in making a living while developing a wholesome community life. So we begin the story with the old bear-trap and the fishing apparatus, or with the one-piece stone implements of the Indians. Then, as the story goes on, the inventive white people needed tight barrels in which to send their fish or their furs back to the old country to be exchanged for the much-needed cash or articles for barter with the natives, and so there is the generations-old Lincoln cooper's shop. Then come on in succession all the agricultural, dairying, textile and cooking tools, the traveling equipment, the governor of that marvelous Merrifield engine, the *Spy* printing press, the Emerson wood-

engraving exhibit, the successive stages in musical instrument manufacture and the expression of good taste, morals, and art, and all the other intermediate and succeeding details of the narrative of the attainment of what we claim as our civilization—each stage suggesting some useful Worcester industry, some Worcester way of making a living.

It is a beautiful and important work you are engaged in while you are supporting the Worcester Historical Society, and I, as your director, wish you further success as you build more largely upon the foundation laid long ago and upon the superstructure extended through a succession of yesterdays.

We receive little publicity through the daily press, but through the widely distributed *This Week in Worcester* you may have maintained some regular contact with your institution, and Prof. Coombs's advancing summary of Worcester's history must have helped you to realize something of the zest and interest and enlightenment that may come through familiarity with "a nation's legends," the "ballads of a people." This resource is abundant and cumulative while dividends are cut and bank deposits are withheld. I suppose our work here ought to advertise itself, but we greatly need your continued support and your friendly words.

Respectively submitted,

U. Waldo Cutler

The
Worcester Historical Society
Publications

New Series
Vol. 1, No. 8

April, 1935

Published by
The Worcester Historical Society
Worcester, Massachusetts

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CHANDLER BULLOCK				
CHARLES T. TATMAN				
MRS. ARTHUR W. MARSH				
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<i>Treasurer</i>	DWIGHT S. PIERCE			
<i>Executive Board</i> the above-named officers and Chairman of Finance Committee	<table><tr><td>U. WALDO CUTLER</td></tr><tr><td>ALBERT FARNSWORTH</td></tr></table>	U. WALDO CUTLER	ALBERT FARNSWORTH	
U. WALDO CUTLER				
ALBERT FARNSWORTH				
<i>Committee on Finance</i>	<table><tr><td>Z. W. COOMBS</td></tr><tr><td>GEORGE W. MACKINTIRE</td></tr><tr><td>EDGAR L. RAMSDELL</td></tr></table>	Z. W. COOMBS	GEORGE W. MACKINTIRE	EDGAR L. RAMSDELL
Z. W. COOMBS				
GEORGE W. MACKINTIRE				
EDGAR L. RAMSDELL				

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KATHERINE REID, *Office Clerk and Assistant in
Museum and Library*

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THE DAGUERREOTYPE ART AND SOME OF ITS EARLY EXPONENTS IN WORCESTER

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Edward F. Coffin, January 21, 1921

The last century was made notable by its many scientific achievements. The aim or result in most of these was to conserve time and economize labor. The making of permanent pictures by the chemical action of light belongs appropriately to this class of discoveries. This was successfully accomplished for the first time by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, a French citizen, who publicly disclosed his secret to the scientific world in June, 1839.

We shall realize somewhat better the revolutionary character of this invention, if we allow ourselves a few moments of retrospection and inquire into the conditions of picture making previous to the disclosure of the Daguerre process.

I shall speak only with reference to portraiture, of which art painting in oil or water-color constituted the most general method. This practice, however, was slow in execution, uncertain of results, and costly to the degree of being considered a luxury. A study of the oil portraits and ivory miniatures done in America before the Revolutionary War and for a full half century afterwards will support the assertion that portrait making was confined almost exclusively to the upper ranks of society. The time demanded for sittings by the portrait painter could be spared only by a class of individuals having leisure at their command. Tradition asserts that John Singleton Copley, the best painter produced in America before the Revolution, on a single occasion at least, required of one of his patrons sixteen sittings of a full day each for the completion of the head alone.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century a general era of prosperity began, with its extension of social comforts to the middle classes. A greatly enhanced demand for portraits arose. Painters sprang up in correspondingly increased numbers to supply the demand, attracted by the lure of financial rewards. Many of these abandoned engraving and other mechanical pursuits for which nature had more fittingly designed them. Miniature painting being more readily mastered, and requiring much less time for the completion of the portrait, became exceedingly popular.

In the decade preceding the announcement of Daguerre's invention more than forty portrait painters occupied studios in Boston, while throughout the populous parts of the country scores of others travelled from place to place painting portraits with varying financial results. Prices at this time were to some extent fixed in accordance with the skill and reputation of the artist, but the average was from \$15 to \$30 for a half length portrait. The thrifty and closely calculating New Englander of 1840, however, still looked upon picture making as undoubted evidence of an extravagant taste.

Photography, in the form of the daguerreotype, now for the first time entered the field of portraiture as a competitor against such hampering conditions as we have outlined. The contest was short and decisive. The obvious advantages of photography over the old time painting methods presaged an easy victory. Minutes only in place of hours were required for sittings; the likeness obtained was no longer a temperamental experiment, and greatest of all benefits, the price of a picture by the new method was now so very low as to come within the reach of everybody's purse. It is not surprising to learn therefore that in less than fifteen years after the introduction of the photographic process into the United States there were more than 5,000 daguerreotypists at work, among whom were included not a few individuals who had formerly practiced portrait painting as a livelihood.

Although Daguerre is credited with the discovery of the method, he did not himself succeed in making portraits. The honor of making the first likeness of a human face by daguerreotypy belongs to a resident of New York, Dr. John W. Draper. There, the earliest victim of the daguerreotypist was fastened to the back of a chair, his eyes being tightly closed, his face was dusted over with a fine white powder, and he was compelled to sit motionless for a full half hour in the blazing sunlight. To lessen the glare, a glass tank filled with liquid was interposed between the sitter and the sun for the purpose of abstracting the heat rays.

Within a comparatively short time, however, rapid progress toward the perfection of the art reduced the time required for sittings to less than a minute and daguerreotypy advanced from a scientific to a commercial basis. The "daguerrean saloon," as it was popularly known, soon became a feature of every-day life in

the community. A visit to the daguerreotypist in the early days of the art, however, must have been a step occasioning much solicitude. The process had marked limitations, when compared with the present, and a satisfactory likeness could only be hoped for by keeping within those limitations. Individuals having light blue eyes could not be successfully daguerreotyped as that shade took white. Freckles, being yellowish brown, took black and badly freckled faces were usually painted over before the sitter faced the camera. False shirt-fronts were kept on hand for the use of gentlemen whose waistcoats were not likely to take well. Attempts even were made to assist minor defects on the part of Nature, and, if necessary, wax was supplied for holding back protruding ears, and plumpers of cotton to fill out thin cheeks. The awful period of suspense during the actual exposure of the plate may be vaguely guessed at from these directions printed in a Manual of 1850, on Daguerreotypy: "In all cases, the sitters must remain perfectly still and not remove their eyes from some small object placed directly before them, though they may wink the eyes occasionally rather than suffer them to become staring and fixed. The time required varies from twenty seconds to a minute and a half according to the position, weather, etc."

We now arrive at a point in the consideration of our subject where we may naturally be expected to answer the question, "Who made the first daguerreotype in Worcester?" I regret I am compelled to admit frankly that I do not know. If specific and trustworthy records exist on this point I have failed to locate them during my investigations. Seven cities we are told laid claim to the honor of being Homer's birthplace, and I might say that nearly or quite that number of aspirants have been put forth to claim the honor of being Worcester's first daguerreotypist. Fortunately in the case of most of these claimants we can successfully dispose of their pretensions. It is a matter of much regret that there appears to be no one now living in Worcester who actually made daguerreotypes. Were such a person alive he must inevitably be approaching the ranks of a centenarian and his testimony would therefore at this day be of doubtful value. I purpose to present as briefly as I can such evidence as I have been able to bring together bearing upon the question of priority in the practice of the daguerreotype art in Worcester.

Mr. Franklin P. Rice in his Dictionary of Worcester, under the subject of "photography," says "The first daguerreotypes taken in Worcester were made by a man named Evans." No particular authority for this statement is given, but a search of the newspaper files of that period disclosed this advertisement which I quote in part from the *Worcester Spy* of December 1, 1841. "G. Evans, Manufacturer and dealer in Daguerreotype Apparatus, #6 Stone block, corner of Main & Central Streets. Photographic miniatures taken in a few seconds." This is the building still standing on the northerly corner. The advertisement fails to mention how long Evans had been located in Worcester, but as it appears to have been the initial appearance of his name before the public through the press, it seems to me a fair inference that this announcement would quite likely have been nearly coincident with his opening business. More than two months earlier than the appearance of Evans' advertisement we find in the *Spy* of September 22, 1841, the following announcement. "Daguerreotype miniatures. Mr. William Walker would respectfully inform the inhabitants of Worcester that he has taken rooms at Brinley Row where may be seen specimens of daguerreotype miniatures taken by him with a new and superior apparatus." No further records of Walker appear, and it seems likely that he was a travelling daguerreotypist, of whom there were many in the pioneer days of the profession. Whether his work in Worcester actually preceded that of Evans, I know no means of determining.

In the *Spy* of October 20, 1841, appears an anonymous advertisement as follows: "For Sale. Less than cost, a first-rate Daguerreotype Apparatus, that will produce a perfect view or miniature in less than one minute on a clear day. Inquire at this office."

Does not this read like the offering of an amateur adventurer into the field, who doubtless after experiencing the usual discouragements of a novice, was quite ready to allow some one else an opportunity to repeat his failures? This advertisement suggests a reasonable possibility, I think, that some local amateur may have been the first man to attempt daguerreotypes in Worcester. The very earliest advertisement of daguerreotypy which I have discovered in a Worcester newspaper appears August 13, 1841. The artist's studio, in this case, is located in Boston. It seems to me a reasonable deduction may be made that when this advertisement

was issued there was no regular "Daguerrean Saloon" in town. I think I have introduced sufficient evidence to justify the doubt which I have expressed respecting the first daguerreotype made in Worcester, and I am glad to be able now to relate a few facts about some of the later workers in the field.

In March 1842, the firm of Wood and Knowles succeeded to the business of Mr. Evans, which they continued in the same location until June of that year, when Mr. Wood retired and Mr. Knowles removed to Brinley Row, where he carried on the business under the name of the "Worcester Photographic Apparatus Manufacturing and Daguerreotype Rooms." It may be a matter of surprise to those not already acquainted with the fact, to learn that this was Mr. Lucius J. Knowles, afterward so well known as one of the founders of the Knowles Loom Works. His advertisement at that time reads: "Miniatures taken in any weather, in a style more accurate than any painting, and finer than any steel engraving. Persons wishing for likenesses of themselves or of their friends cannot do better than call and get it done by Nature's pencil." Mr. Knowles retired permanently from the daguerreotype business in 1844, to devote his time to the development of one of his numerous inventions, of which at the time of his death he had patented more than one hundred.

I find no printed record of any one conducting the daguerreotype business in Worcester for the next two years. It is quite probable that the business was cared for by travelling outfits.

In September 1847, the *Worcester Palladium* prints the first announcement of Mr. George Adams' Daguerrean Rooms. This verse adorns the top of Mr. Adams' advertisement:

"Of those for whom we fond emotions cherish,
Secure the shadow, 'ere the substance perish."

Mr. Adams conducted galleries in various locations in the city during the next twenty years. His final location, opposite the old City Hall, was disposed of to Mr. William H. Fitton, about 1867. Mr. Adams had the reputation of being an artist of first rank, and trained many of the men who afterward conducted the same line of work here.

Among the pupils of Mr. Adams one soon became his competitor. This was Andrew Wemple Van Alstin, born of Dutch parentage

at Canastota, New York, July 26, 1811. In 1848 he was in business at Brinley Hall. He continued here until his early death at the age of 47. At one time he left his business in the care of an assistant and made a trip around the world, collecting many specimens of foreign birds which were later mounted and exhibited in his daguerreotype rooms. The collection was destroyed by a fire which occurred while he was located in Union Block. Mr. Van Alstin seems to have been a person of much enterprise and carried on an express business from Worcester to New York via Rail and Norwich Boats. The express was known as Mason & Co.'s, Mr. Mason being his partner in the enterprise. The business was later taken over by Harnden & Co. We are indebted to Mr. Van Alstin for two exceedingly interesting daguerreotype pictures of early Worcester. One of these shows the Merrifield Fire of 1854, the view being made from the roof of Union Block (now Barnard, Sumner & Putnam Co.'s store) during the early progress of the fire. The other picture is a view of the residence of Daniel Waldo in its original location where Mechanics Hall now stands. These pictures are both in the society's collection, having come as a gift from his step-daughter, Miss Ann Prudence Richardson. Through the gift of Mr. Van Alstin's son, Charles W. Van Alstin, of Boston, the society has recently received a portrait of the daguerreotypist to add to its collections.

During the year 1846 we find the firm of White and Andrews located in the Central Exchange. They appear to have remained in business only for a brief period. Other men in the field before 1850 were Lewis Babbitt, Simeon Williams and M. S. Chapin.

Moses Sanford Chapin was a native of Milford, Mass., and before entering the daguerreotype business had learned the cabinet trade. He conducted a successful gallery until shortly after the close of the Civil War, when he retired to take up his earlier calling.

During the War he went to Newberne, N. C., and for a time did photographic work with the Northern Armies.

The society is fortunate in having a considerable collection of daguerreotypes made by Mr. Chapin. These are very interesting as illustrating the appearance of the patrons of a daguerreotype gallery three quarters of a century ago.

During the period 1850 to 1855 we find the additional names of John D. Andrews, Thomas N. and William Hathaway, Benjamin D.

Maxham, and Charles R. B. Claflin. Of these only Mr. Claflin remained connected with the trade for any extended time. He was long and favorably known in the city and trained many of the men who carried on studios in Worcester during the last half of the nineteenth century.

Although nothing has ever surpassed the daguerreotype, at its best, in the delicate softness of its tonal qualities, it was always a difficult process to manipulate, and a picture when carelessly handled was very easily damaged. About 1855 it began to give place gradually to the ambrotype, and within a decade the introduction of prints from glass negatives had driven the daguerreotype process completely out of use. It has long since become a forgotten art, and it exists today only as a treasured memory because it has preserved for us the quaintly sweet vision of a generation that has passed.

WORCESTER'S UNIQUE CENTRE SCHOOL DISTRICT A DISCURSIVE STUDY

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Frank Colegrove, April 14, 1933

The old *Centre School District* in Worcester has had a biographical story, sketchily told in the history and records of the Town, of great interest and outstanding importance in the development and growth of our public school system, not only to the City, to which the splendid results were passed directly upon its incorporation in 1848, but also to the whole State, as the essential features of its matured plan were, through the efforts of Worcester's able representative in the Legislature, Mr. S. M. Burnside, with the backing of a remarkably strong committee of the District, enacted into the general law of the State, *as a recognition of existing law.*

It is not too much to say that the Centre District was the mother of Worcester as we have known it—a city of schools, widely recognized as an educational center and sought as a residence by those having children to be educated—and is entitled to a share of credit for all the other benefits which its position educationally has brought to our city.

The reasons why the remarkable story of Worcester's achievement as a pioneer in the field of school administration is almost wholly the story of the Centre District, will be noted at large further on; suffice it for the present to say that it was because of some inherent advantages, geographical and social, reinforced by the grant to the District by the General Court of a wholly unique power, as lodged in a single school district. The chief purpose of this paper will be to trace the genesis and gradual development of the effectual principles and methods by which the final results were worked out—with the Centre District always the prime agent, from the time when the Centre was merely a geographical designation, through its transformation into the Centre School District, *in esse*, and on to its legal incorporation, with the peculiar powers which enabled it to turn over to the City a remarkable achievement. First the long, dark years of struggle and experiment, of seedtime and toilsome cultivation, down to what we may call the "reformation," in 1823-24, and the period of rapid efflorescence and fruition from then to the incorporation of the City, in 1848.

The whole system, as passed on to the City, was so entirely the accomplishment of the Centre District that it is spoken of by a Worcester historian as "*The Centre District School System.*"

Perhaps it may be well to anticipate here the course of the story so far as to enumerate some of the principal things originating in the Centre District, and afterwards, in the codification of the laws of the State, enacted into the general law—to the end that you may be on the lookout for their crude and tentative beginnings, as we follow the story.

1. *School Committees*, or Boards, independent of all other town or city officials in the administration of the public schools.
2. *The District System*, a corollary of the independent school committees.
3. *The Legal Employment of Female Teachers*, and for other than the primary branches.
4. *Grading of the Lower Schools.*

Since the geographical position of the Centre District in respect to the other districts (as the divisions were finally called) of the town, was a factor of constant importance in this story, our initial task is to orient ourselves in regard to these.

First, the *Centre District*. To locate this with exactness would seem at first blush to be very simple and easy, as only a single point need be located—the centre of the Centre—and the district is delimited, being comprised in a circle of one and a half miles radius about the central point. Now for the central point; this should be simple and easy, too, but in point of fact it proved rather elusive. In 1733 the necessity for fixing this point arose, in view of the proposal to erect a schoolhouse (the schools theretofore having been kept in private houses, and rotating about all sections of the town). It was voted "that a school-house be erected in the centre of the south half of the Town," (the north half, or precinct of the township then being Holden, and the south half Worcester proper) and "that Col. John Chandler, Jr., be the surveyor to find the centre of said south half, and Lieut. Henry Lee, Major Jonas Rice and James Moore be a committee to assist him." Another committee was appointed "to see the house erected, as they shall think most to the advantage of the town." What more was needed to come at the said centre? But one story is good until another is told.

Five years later this surveyor and committee reported, and it was voted "That ye committee formerly appointed, or (with fine irony) *those of them that still live in the town*, erect and build a school-house at or near the north-west corner of the estate of John Chandler, Jr., Esq." But this location was changed by vote, three weeks later, to a point described "between the Court House and bridge below the fulling mill," indicating a point near the middle of Lincoln Square, where the house was accordingly built, in 1738, and the structure remained till toward the close of the century. This was the house in which John Adams taught, in 1755-58, and whose location is marked by the tablet on the coping of the Court House lot.

With this mere glance at the tedious process of locating the centre by the town authorities, we will stand upon the conclusion that the centre of the Centre was, accurately enough for our present purposes, in the middle of Lincoln Square—leaving the question a moot one whether the district was measured from a fixed point, or from the *schoolhouse*. The slight difference need not concern us.

The orienting of the surrounding districts at first sight appears equally simple, *vide* the following directions. In 1731, considering "that many small children cannot attend in the centre of the town by reason of the remoteness of their dwelling places, and to the intent that all may have the benefit of education," districts were formed. Division lines drawn from the middle of each exterior boundary separated the town into north, south, east and west *quarters*, surrounding the central territory. Well, take your map of Worcester, place it in accordance with the cardinal points of the compass, and lay out the *quarters*, as suggested. *Try* it. This apparently guileless explanation opens a veritable jig-saw puzzle, as we become entangled amid the divisions of the "skirts." Quarters? yes, but by no means limited to *four* in number—but also rows, squadrons, skirts, parts and divisions, and, finally, numbered districts—besides many designations by the names of individuals.

So, as in the location of the centre, we will come at once to the practical situation—not even tarrying to identify the proposed location of a schoolhouse in a West quarter, "ye crotch of the path between old Mr. Johnson & his son Solomon." To dismiss the idea of a fourth part from the term quarter will help some. You will have enough troubles remaining with the terms north, south, etc.

The "skirts," then, were divided first into four, and eventually into thirteen what-you-may-call-thems, surrounding the Centre District—the Centre always remaining a single district, even when it had up to 22 schools, with all the advantages which that gave, in view of its relatively compact and homogeneous population.

Now look upon this picture, and upon that: *The Centre District*—at first by customary designation, and later by legislative recognition—a solid unit three miles in diameter, covering the central portion of the town—possessing a large proportion of the wealth and culture, social and political influence and able leadership of the town, but only from a third to, finally, about a half of the potential school population. And, on the other hand—the "skirts," scattered and divided into up to 13 districts—having from two thirds to about one half of the population, as the story advances, but, as to strategic situation, in worse case than the little girl who complained that although her older sister allowed her, at the mother's command, half of the bed, she had to take it on both sides of the elder in the middle, as they had to take their share on *all* sides of the Centre District. Naturally, then, they had little coherence or unity of interests on which to base a common policy for any constructive measures. They had, it is true, a certain community of jealousy of the Centre, and of opposition to its policies in regard to schools, and particularly toward the chief desideratum of the Centre, the *Grammar*, or "*High*" *School*, as they derisively called it—of which more later. So, as a drag the "skirts" were rather efficient, but negligible as a factor in any constructive policy of progress in school matters, in which the Centre was desirous of good, better and best.

The foregoing may suffice to show that if there were to be effective leadership in the struggle for good schools, it must come from the Centre, and that no great accomplishment could be hoped for until the Centre should be freed from the hampering skirts. This, as we shall see below, was gradually effected—partially in what we may call the "little reformation," in 1752, and completely in the "great reformation" of 1823-24. After a hasty glance at the early conditions and experiments and the beginnings of some of the means which were to prove effective, we shall return to these epochal dates.

Of course at the very first conditions in the town of Worcester, in regard to schools, were essentially the same as in any town of the

State. The inhabitants attended to (or sometimes neglected to do so) the support of the schoolmaster as they did to the minister's, and the manner of doing it began to grow to a custom, by a sort of general consent, gradually taking on more of definiteness until custom grew to practical law. At first what administration there was was generally in the hands of the minister, who decided upon the qualifications of the masters, and visited and inspected the schools, mostly without any definite authorization. However, the Province Law of 1701, in order to secure a more impartial administration of the minister's duty to examine teachers, forbade him to act as schoolmaster himself, and required every grammar master to be examined by the ministers of the town and of the next two adjoining towns. The *codifying* act of 1789 declared it to be the duty of the ministers of the gospel and the selectmen of towns or such other persons as shall be specially chosen for that purpose, to endeavor that youth regularly attend the schools, and to visit and inspect the same. (The incipient idea of the *school committee*.)

For a few years the town, by vote, fluctuated between having and not having a school, but in 1727 a committee was named to provide a schoolmaster for one year. However this was not done, but the next year the town granted sixteen pounds ten shillings to pay the schoolmaster, but also had to assess other money to meet a penalty for not having the school in 1727—the town having been "presented" by the Grand Jury for not providing a school. Thereafter the records show that a school or schools were habitually maintained. As will appear below, the presentment and penalizing of the town had to be resorted to again in 1736 for failure to maintain a "Grammar School." By the way, in this paper the term "grammar school" is to be taken, unless otherwise stated, in its customary early sense of a school where the grammar of the Latin and Greek languages was taught—in other words, what we call a *high school*. The term "high school," however, was not used in any serious sense until nearly the close of the period we are considering—when the "grammar school" took on its present signification, as one in which *English grammar* is taught.

Now how was the Centre to win out in its ambition for good schools, and especially for a first class *Grammar School*? Let us follow along and see. It was hopeless to depend upon effectual action by the town as a whole. The primary need was for con-

centration of the elements desirous of good schools—at a cost—and in some way to secure such freedom of action on their part as to open the way for improvement. This, under the circumstances, would mean that the Centre, clearly designated by its geographical position for the task, must find a way for itself, even at some temporary disadvantage to the skirts, to an achievement impossible if it must accommodate its pace to that of the Town. Two problems of independence, then, confronted the Centre: First, that of separating the whole matter of school administration from all the other town affairs, and putting it into the hands of persons chosen especially for that purpose—through an autonomous *school committee*. This was gradually accomplished until the principle of an independent school committee for the town had grown into a custom law. But there was in this case another step no less needed, for the town committee was too inert, too indifferent, when not actually hostile to the ambitions of the Centre. Indeed, in its dearest ambition—for an efficient Grammar School—"ye master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for ye University," the attitude of the skirts, largely outvoting the Centre, was one of open hostility. In 1766 the Worcester representative in the General Court was instructed to endeavor "that the law requiring a Latin school be repealed and that no more than one such be kept in the County." And in 1767, "to use his exertions to relieve the people from the great burden of supporting so many schools of this description, whereby they are prevented from attaining such degree of English learning as is necessary to retain the freedom of any state."

It was therefore necessary that the Centre should, in the matter of schools, be freed from the dead weight or open opposition of the outskirts. Hence the second device, the *District System*, making it possible for a single school district to have its own independent school committee. This step also was gradually developed, long fluctuating between control of all the districts by the Town committee; a committee for the Centre District and another for the out-districts; and, finally, the entire independence of the Centre District, with its own Board of Overseers of Schools.

Oddly enough, the very hostility of the out-districts to the chief ambition of the Centre, in the matter of the Grammar School, was a main cause of the ultimate autonomy of the Centre in the adminis-

tration of its schools. This school—obligatory for each town upon its attaining a population of one hundred families—was at first, in common with the lower schools, a *moving* school, circulating over the whole town. The Centre very much wanting this, and the largely rural population of the skirts, jealous and grudging, wishing to be rid of its responsibility—it naturally gravitated toward a fixation in the Centre, though, being for the whole town, it must remain under the nominal control of the Town School Committee—even when the Centre was voluntarily bearing the lion's share of its cost. Finally this conflict of inclinations served as the basis of a bargain, acceptable to both, between the Centre and the rest of the town. The obligation of the law was that a grammar school be kept twelve months in each year. For several years the town had evaded compliance with this requirement, by a subterfuge widely current among the towns of the State, it being commonly held that the law might be technically satisfied by employing in the district schools as teachers, college students, possessing, of course, some knowledge of Latin and Greek, and adding together the number of weeks taught by all of them, although the schools were contemporaneous, so that the aggregate would amount to twelve months. This view, after having been long and extensively practiced on, though constantly challenged, received its final quietus from a decision of the Supreme Court, upon an indictment of the Town of Dedham, that the grammar school must be kept twelve months *for the use of all the inhabitants of the town*. Now, facing the necessity of a *bona fide* compliance with the statute, and spurred on by repeated "presentments" by the Grand Jury, and penalties by fine for non-compliance, the town, as the easiest way out of the matter, struck a bargain with the Centre District, whereby the school should be permanently located in the Centre, and the Centre District should be responsible for its maintenance, and save the Town from presentment—making up itself (at first by voluntary subscriptions) the deficiency of the town levy.

There was still another powerful factor in the rapid development of Worcester's schools—one early adopted, while it was extra-legal, and even illegal, by the quiet insistence of practice which built up so many of our early customs into acknowledged law. That was the employment of female teachers, and that not merely for the most primary studies, as at first contemplated. "In 1731 not only a

schoolmaster was provided, but it was voted that a number of ‘school dames,’ not exceeding five,” should be employed for the benefit of the small children in the remote parts of the town. This was the beginning of a custom, not then nor for many years afterward legalized, of employing women as teachers.

This innovation proved of great value in our town, making available a generous supply of teachers, who speedily justified the expectations of those who took the responsibility of opening the doors to them.

The year 1752, at which we have now arrived, marks an important epoch in our story; indeed, it might be considered the date of the attainment of its majority by the Centre District. Mr. Caleb Wall says: “The vote by which the first Grammar School was established, in 1752, required the inhabitants of the centre district, a mile and a half around the centre, to keep a grammar school the whole year. The deficiency of the public grants for instruction therein was made up by subscriptions among the leading citizens of the town who had been instrumental in starting the enterprise. The establishment of this institution was probably the nucleus of what was afterwards known as the *Centre District School System*, which accomplished so much for public instruction in Worcester fifty and seventy-five years ago, and earlier, under the lead of the Lincolns, Allens, Dr. Dix, Dr. Green, Dr. Bancroft, Dr. Going, Theophilus Wheeler, Benjamin Chapin, Samuel Jennison, Frederick W. Paine, S. M. Burnside and others.” This vote ran as follows: “Inhabitants in the centre of the bow extending one mile and a half around the school house have allowed them their proportion of money for ye support of schooling, provided they do *bona fide*, keep a grammar school ye whole year, and if their proportion of the money will procure a schoolmaster more than twelve weeks, the usual time they have of late had schooling there, any person may have liberty to send their children after said 12 weeks.”

There were yet to come dark days and setbacks, but those would perhaps lead to the greater ultimate success, as they inspired the adoption of the final, and, as it proved, the most effective measure.

After the interruption of the Revolution, the town was again presented by the Grand Jury for neglect of its grammar school, in 1785 and 1788; and arrangements were then made for a thorough reorganization of the school system in the Centre District, in co-

operation with Dr. Elijah Dix, and others, who united in a joint stock company and procured land on the west side of Main Street, some 200 feet north of the present Central Street, on which was erected the building so long and well known as "The Centre School House." In 1801 this house was purchased from the proprietors by the people of the Centre District, for \$950, and thereafter the grammar school was a fixed and permanent institution in the Centre. This Centre School House was the pride of the people of the District until the supreme achievement of the English and Classical High School building on Walnut Street, which was considered when opened, the finest building used for school purposes in the State. It was described by Rev. Peter Whitney, in 1793, as "a large and handsome school-house, about 60 by 30 feet, and two stories high, on the lower floor of which are two apartments, one for a grammar school, and the other for an elementary school; in the upper story is a large hall, with a fire place at each end, used by the scholars on their exhibition days; on the top is a cupola with a bell." We do not have this building to present as an exhibit, but we have two several portions of it, in these canes, from the museum of this Society, each bearing a plate inscribed: PART OF THE FRAME OF THE OLD "CENTRAL SCHOOL HOUSE," MAIN ST. ERECTED IN 1784. REMOVED IN 1885.

The ruling idea of this period seems to have been an exhaustive testing of the efficacy of the system of eking out the public provision for the support of schools, by voluntary subscriptions—and thorough was the word. In 1745 a comprehensive scheme of operation of all the schools of the town was reported by a committee consisting of Jonas Rice, Daniel Heywood, Benjamin Flagg and Ephraim Curtis. Their proposition was that the families living in the outskirts should have the use of their own school money as paid by them, and that the families in the Centre should make up, by subscription or in some other way, a sum which, with their share of the tax, should be sufficient to maintain a grammar school in the Centre, which should be free to all the inhabitants of the town. No action was taken on this report, but it had a considerable and lasting effect. Only two years later the town voted to allow the quarters that shall keep school their proportionate share of the tax. Other votes extended this privilege to groups, families and individuals. In 1745, "That a number of inhabitants living remote from the

school house have the benefit of such sums as they shall be assessed toward ye 110 pounds—to support suitable schools to instruct and teach their children in the best manner they may be able. In the N.E. part the following privileges to have the benefit of their own school money: Daniel Knight, John Knight—and other names, to the number of twenty in all; Also the familyes on the Westerly side of ye River called Half-way River: Widow Wallise, Joseph Willey, Nath'l Spring and Wm. McFarland, to have the principal part of their money. All ye familyes except John Tatman, Jabez Tatman and Michael Hambleton, living on the south or S.W. side of Bogachoag River and southerly of ye Country Road to have the privilege. Also the familys living remote on the S.E. part of sd town viz:—Joshua Bigelo, Jacob Smith, John Roberts, John Barker, Jonas Woodard and John Smith.” And, if all this were not comprehensive enough—“Voted that Daniel Hubbard *be deemed* one of Insign Parker’s row.” “The Remainder of the inhabitants of said town *living within the aforesaid familys* to make up by a subscription or some other method a sufficient sum including their part of said tax to maintain and keep a grammar school at ye school-house in sd town; so that ye town may not be at any time presented for want of ye same.”

Of the fruits of this policy the records give but little indication, except in the Centre District, where, indeed, its crucial test came. There for a time the system appeared to work fairly well, until the children of the heavy subscribers had received their preparation for college. Then the enthusiasm died down, and conditions slipped back into the low state which brought the determined revolt of 1823–24, and opened the final and most unique chapter in the history of the Centre District School System.

There are many temptations to stop and cull among these interesting old records—illuminating incidents, quaint phrases, curious and, to us, often humorous rules and regulations of both Town and Centre District, etc. The school for “children of color,” in the Centre only—at times a bit troublesome to control, but, again, so good that some of the white parents petitioned that their children be allowed to attend it (however, there was no promotion from this to any higher school); Lists of Text Books, etc. But time presses, and I will but cite two of the By-Laws to be Observed in the Town of Worcester—under date of 1845. One of these would indicate

rather rustic conditions, to call for it; the other, aside from its rather surprising character, shows that the town was more solicitous for the morals and manners of its Centre District, than for those of the out-districts.

"No person shall hereafter saw any firewood, or pile the same upon the side or foot walks of any of the streets or roads in said town, and no person shall stand on any such foot or side walk, with his wood or saw horse, to the hindrance or obstruction of any foot passenger, under a penalty of one dollar."

"If any person shall smoke any cigar or pipe in any of the streets or roads within School District No. 1 (The Centre District) in said town, he shall, for such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of one dollar."

The final chapter of this story began in deep discouragement, in view of the existing conditions, but with quick rebound, it inaugurated an unexampled period of success and progress in school matters.

Like the preceding period, this one had its dominating idea, the one untried weapon on which it pinned its faith. Someone of its leaders, in a flash of inspiration, hit upon the one measure which, however questionable, or impossible, as a general policy, scored a bullseye in this one particular case. It must, however, have taxed even the weight of the committee that devised it—which included the then Lt. Governor (a year later to be Governor) Levi Lincoln—to put it over with the Legislature. The nib of this was the substitution for the broken reed of voluntary subscription, so long and so vainly tried—to eke out the insufficient school levies of the town—"the steady support of taxation." Mr. Lincoln says: "Resort to the contingent aid of voluntary contribution having been found ineffectual and feeble, authority was obtained from the Legislature, to bring the steady support of taxation for the support of schools." This was accomplished by virtue of a special grant of authority from the Legislature, act of January 17, 1824.

This power, as granted to a single school district, was then and ever after unique, at least in Massachusetts. Hurd, in his County History, calls the independence of the district school committees or boards, the erection of an *imperium in imperio*; what language would cover this far more radical act of conferring upon a single school district that fundamental function of the autonomous civil

unit, the power to lay and collect taxes? This was as entirely unique as that plain usurpation of the royal prerogative of coining money, which was carried out with consummate audacity and finesse under the nose of the King of England, by colonial Massachusetts, for twenty years, in the matter of the Pine Tree Coinage.

The period was ushered in by one of the most remarkable school reports in the annals of any school district—which has been characterized as follows: “The report of Mr. Burnside’s committee in its consequences, which probably were not wholly foreseen at the time, is one of the most important facts in the school history of Massachusetts, and deserves to be lithographed and hung up in every school room in the Commonwealth, although Mr. Horace Mann, in one of his philippics against the school-district system, pronounced the special power granted to the Worcester Centre District by the Legislature, in the act above referred to, a local aggravation of the chief vice of a most vicious system.” However, to quote further from the same authority, “under the supervision of the Overseers (of the District) the schools rapidly advanced to that position and degree of excellence which the schools of Worcester have ever since maintained.” (Report of Worcester Schools, 1876, Appendix, p. 50.)

I will quote at some length from this epochal report, somewhat in the way of recapitulation and confirmation of statements in my slender thread of narrative which I did not wish to interrupt too much—relative to methods and measures of school administration originated and matured in the Centre District, and later codified into the general law of the State. This committee consisted of:

Sam'l M. Burnside
A. Bancroft
Levi Lincoln
Otis Corbett
Jonathan Going
Sam'l Jennison

“The Committee appointed by the inhabitants of the Centre School District in Worcester, on the fourth day of August current, to report on the general concerns of said District, and for other purposes, have attended to the duties assigned them, and ask leave to report: . . . It will not be denied that the people of our

Commonwealth are laudably solicitous to adopt effectual methods to cultivate the intellectual and moral faculties of youth, to polish their manners, and prepare them for the active pursuits of life,—But your Committee are constrained to declare their opinion that the schools in this District have *generally* fallen below the common standard in the Commonwealth, and would not bear comparison with many in our immediate neighborhood. Ought this state of things to be longer endured? Is it not reproachful to the Centre District of the shire town in the county of Worcester,

"The inefficiency of our schools may be traced, in the opinion of your Committee, to two prominent causes,—*First*, the false notions of economy, which have introduced incompetent masters. The amount of compensation paid annually to all the instructors within this District, including \$400 for the Grammar School, has averaged nearly \$840; of this sum about \$440 have been appropriated to the support of the common schools, leaving but \$400 to meet the whole expense of a Grammar School. Now it requires no argument to show that for a salary of \$400 a preceptor possessing the requisite qualifications could not be obtained; and the man who *would* engage for that sum would probably not be deserving of your confidence. Better is it, in the view of your Committee, that your children should depend for instruction upon their friends at home, than to be entrusted to one who would learn them nothing right, and restrain them from nothing wrong. But in a few instances the liberality of individuals has supplied, in some measure, the deficiencies of the monies of the town, and competent masters have been sometimes employed. . . .

"From the *causes* of these evils your Committee proceed to point out the only remedies which they deem effectual. *First*, insure the employment of able instructors in the Centre School, by raising the salary heretofore given them. This can be effected only by individual subscriptions, or by persuading the town to increase the general School tax for the benefit of the Grammar School, or by *an assessment of the necessary additional sums upon the inhabitants of the District* in pursuance of powers to be obtained from the Legislature for that purpose. Upon the first method suggested, your Committee think no permanent reliance can be placed; but they believe either the second or third to be practicable, and recommend the adoption of measures to pursue either the one or the other, or both, as cir-

cumstances may render most advisable. *In the second place*, your Committee propose the following arrangement of the Schools:

- 1st. A Grammar School to be kept permanently in the Centre School House.
- 2nd. A School for every necessary branch of English education, to be kept in the Centre School House for, at least, eight months in the year.
- 3d. A Female School to be kept in each of the other houses from April to November, inclusive.
- 4th. A third female school of a higher order than those last mentioned, to be kept for the same term near the centre of the District; and to be composed of scholars most advanced from the other female schools."

This, in 1823, is believed to be the earliest authentic account of the practice of *grading*.

It was not until the year 1789 that *school districts* were so much as mentioned in any formal enactment. The act of that year was not merely a revision of former acts, it included also a recognition of the then existing customs. Compare the vote of the town of Worcester under date April 23, 1730, reciting "that whereas many small children cannot attend the school in the centre of the town, by reason of the remoteness of their dwellings, &c.," and therefore locating "the school dames" in the several parts of the town—with the preamble #2 of this act of 1789: "Whereas by reason of the dispersed situation, &c., the children and youth cannot be collected in any one place for their instruction, &c., therefore towns are authorized to define the limits of school-districts." Thus does the very first act that mentions school-districts recognize them as already existing.

By the act of 1817, Ch. 14, districts were made corporations with power to sue and be sued, and to hold real and personal estate. But this act was merely declaratory of existing law.

The vote of the town of Worcester, above referred to, is also of special interest as proof of the employment of women as teachers long before such employment was considered legal. Said Gov. Bullock in an address at Holyoke, on the Centennial situation of women: "For some years after the adoption of the Constitution, women were ineligible to the office of teachers, and, if permitted

to perform its duties they could not, I believe, by process of law collect their salary."

The same act of 1789 allowed the alternative choosing of school committees, but the first act that required towns and cities to elect School Committees and ousted all other officers of all control over schools, was passed March 10, 1826. The history of this act has a connection with the Centre School District of Worcester, especially deserving of notice here. The report of Mr. Burnside's committee, 1823, contains, besides other recommendations of importance, the following: "Your Committee recommend that a board of twelve overseers be chosen annually by ballot, whose duty it shall be, in conjunction with the Selectmen, to determine upon the qualifications of instructors, and to contract with them for their services; to determine upon the attainments of scholars to be admitted into said schools respectively; to prescribe the course of instruction, and all necessary rules and regulations for the government thereof, and, in short, to have full administrative authority in regard to the schools of the district, except that in case of the Grammar School, which was for all the inhabitants of the town, they were to act in conjunction with the Selectmen of the town." And they were to report annually in writing to the *District*. The recommendations of this committee were adopted, and thenceforth the duties of the Overseers of Schools of the Centre District of Worcester were identical with those of the modern school committees.

Three years after this, in 1826, Mr. Burnside, being sent by the Town of Worcester to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, embodied his plan of a special board of public officers to have charge of schools, foreshadowed in the report as quoted above, in "A Bill to further provide for the Instruction of Youth," and procured the passage of the same by the Legislature.

May 25, 1727, on an article in the warrant of the Selectmen "to see if ye town will Chuse a Schoole-master to teach Children and Youth to Read and Right as ye Law directs," it was voted "that James Holding L(ieut) Moses Leonard L(ieut) Henery Lee John Hubbart & John Stearns be a Comitte to provid a Schoolmaster for one year"—*they being the first school committee appointed by the town.*

That the wise and far-sighted policy of vesting exclusive jurisdiction over public schools in a responsible committee, believed to

have been first adopted in Worcester, was, directly after its successful experiment here, extended to the whole State, was due to Samuel M. Burnside of Worcester.

The first Worcester *City* school report, 1848, shows, on the whole, fair conditions in the out-districts, and waxes enthusiastic over the schools in the Centre District, especially the higher ones.

"The three Grammar Schools (the term being used in its modern signification) may, without exaggeration, be represented as models of their kind. . . . On the whole the Committee believe that the City may cherish the liveliest satisfaction in view of the condition of their Grammar Schools. It is a blessing that can hardly be overvalued, that nearly three hundred of our sons and daughters have been permitted to enjoy the training of such schools for another year. The Classical and English High School is the only one remaining to be spoken of. In previous years the reports of this school have been, with scarce an exception, laudatory. Indeed, committees have seemed to take it for granted that they had a right to monopolize all the terms of commendation in our language in preparing their descriptions of it. But what redeems these accounts from the charge of vanity or fulsome exaggeration is, that they have had truth for their basis, and known facts for their justification. It would perhaps suffice to say, therefore, that the school has never been more truly prosperous than it has during the past year, and that its present condition is a practical illustration of the sound wisdom and large generosity with which it was planned and carried into operation."

Of a splendid accomplishment under the Centre District School System the records leave no room for doubt, but it must be admitted that its most peculiar, as well as most effective feature was looked upon askance as a precedent, especially as regards its effects upon the out-districts; and I cannot do better in closing this paper than to quote from the last *Town* school report, for 1847-48—a document characterized by eminent fairness and breadth of vision—not unmindful of disadvantages to the out-districts, but frankly recognizing some great and otherwise unattainable benefits to the Centre, and eventually to all—its most admirable historical, explanatory and apologetic discussion of this feature.

"Worcester has been an anomaly among the towns of the Commonwealth in regard to the mode of providing for the support and

superintendence of its public schools. Elsewhere the whole cost of public instruction has been defrayed by the Town; and the entire care of the schools has devolved upon the Town Committee, whose powers, duties and responsibilities are defined by general statutes, and whose annual reports, supposed to contain a history of the condition and progress of education in their respective localities form a part of the archives of the State. An exception to this rule has been made in favor of Worcester alone. In 1824 the inhabitants of School District No. 1 (The Centre District), comprising the most concentrated and populous portion of the village, obtained a charter from the Legislature, by which they were authorized to raise money by taxation among themselves, in addition to the sum apportioned to their District by the Town, to be applied to the support of schools in their own District, in such manner as they might direct.

"In virtue of the authority thus conferred, the Centre District has been accustomed to choose a separate Board of Overseers for the management and direction of its schools. The Latin Grammar School, however, although located within the limits of the Centre District, being for the use of the whole town, continued in the charge of the Town Committee; and the Classical and English High School, which, with greatly increased advantages, succeeded to the Latin Grammar School, has been under the same direction. But the Town Committee has exercised no jurisdiction over the schools properly belonging to the Centre District; and an account of their condition has made no part in the annual Report rendered to the town and deposited with the Secretary of State. The simple statistics of numbers and attendance only, have been given in the Register required by the Secretary for the apportionment of the income of the School Fund of the Commonwealth.

"Whether the separation of interests, between the Centre District and the other Districts may not have proved injurious to the latter, is a question it is now, for any practical purpose, too late to discuss. It is certainly possible that, satisfied with the excellence of their own schools, the inhabitants of the Centre may have been less anxious to increase the general appropriations made by the Town; So far as the Centre is concerned, it is undoubtedly true that the concentrated efforts of its residents have exhibited their fruits in the high degree of excellence to which the schools have

been raised, without any wasteful or unproductive expenditure. Still it is not unreasonable to conclude that, if the whole sum raised in the town had been distributed among all the Districts, the proportion received by the Centre would have proved less than that District would have required; and therefore a necessity for increasing the general appropriation have been felt.

"It was for this, among other reasons, doubtless, that the Legislature soon repented of permitting, in the instance of Worcester, a departure from a general principle, and resolutely refused, in other cases, to grant such powers to particular Districts.

"The abstraction of a larger share of population from the care of the Town Committee, still left in its charge about an equal proportion of schools; but such as have been the most difficult to manage, and, with the exception of the High School, the least susceptible of improvement. In thinly settled agricultural districts all ages and classes of children are usually brought together in one apartment, and under one teacher. The instructor is at one time a male, at another a female. The schools are subject to long intermissions; and the notions and habits of parents are apt to be unfavorable to energy and system in the mode of conducting them. From these the pupils advance to the High School, where a careful regard to qualifications, and a strict internal discipline are indispensable to success. To stimulate and sustain both grades of schools, differing so widely—to adapt them to each other, without the advantage of an intermediate station, and at the same time to accord with the superior attainments, methodical progress, and high aims of the Centre District, has been the duty of the Town Committee. Thus it has devolved upon them to provide for the highest and lowest degrees of culture; but to graduate the interval by appropriate steps of advancement, and thus to secure a perfect and well balanced system, has not been within their means of accomplishment. A finer school than the Classical and English High School, such as it has become under the administration of able and faithful teachers, the Town Committee could hardly desire to transfer to their successors of the City."

A footnote adds: "By way of set-off to the advantages of the Centre, the sum of sixty dollars has been allowed, annually, to each of the out-districts, beyond their proper share of the school money raised by the Town; while the example of the Centre is supposed by many to have had a highly favorable influence on their schools."

THE BLACKSTONE CANAL

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by Zelotes W. Coombs, January 6, 1914

The traveler through the valley of the Blackstone River, the busiest river in the world, notes from time to time a clearly outlined bank of earth, running in straight or regularly curved lines, covered with grass and trees, and disappearing ever and again under some building, some street, or lost to sight in the waters of some mill or even of the river itself. Surely this is no work of Nature; the hand of man has wrought here, and, if the traveler inquires he will learn that the earth embankment marks the path of the Blackstone Canal, which, more than fourscore years ago, solved the problem of transportation from Worcester to tidewater, which made Worcester indeed a port of entry, which was a factor, perhaps *the* factor, in the marvelous growth of this inland city. Two generations have passed since the water was drawn off from the last level, the last packet-boat cut up for firewood; when the utter futility of the whole plan became apparent. And yet the memory of that great though early undertaking still lingers and is now, after all these years, of more than passing interest.

The conclusion of the second war with England had left the new nation ready for expansion. The narrow strip of Atlantic seaboard, peopled by the thirteen colonies, was too contracted for the growing life of this new nation. As in every age of human progress the waterways did their part in opening up new territory for occupation. The course of empire took its way toward the West by water so far as this was possible. If you will glance at a map of this country you will note that there is no continuous waterway from the Atlantic to the valley of the Ohio. So the early emigrants went out to the Western Reserve overland, using the rivers as they could. They followed the Potomac, retracing the course of the ill-fated Braddock, and took the Allegheny or the Monongahela, after the mountain ridge had been crossed. Or, if they were going from the North, they moved up the valley of the Mohawk, by land or by water as they could, until they reached the Great Lakes. Then, embarking upon their placid waters, they were presently at their goal.

Commerce and trade followed settlement. In solving the

problems of transportation Europe had long since waked up to the fact that freight and even passengers might well be moved in slackwater canals. Such waterways soon furrowed the surface of England. For years they had been the highways of Holland.

The needs of the growing country, the demand for sure and cheap transportation of freight and passengers in all directions, added weight to the example of Europe. In this state came the Middlesex Canal, running from Boston to Lowell. It was incorporated in 1793, was begun in 1794, and was opened in 1803. In 1808, Albert Gallatin, Jefferson's great Secretary of the Treasury, issued his famous report, advocating a tremendous policy of expansion, with numerous public works that should help along this expansion. Specifically, he named certain canals to be dug at once. Among these were the one through the neck of land between the Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay, several perfecting the internal waterway along the Atlantic coast, and, especially, one from Boston Harbor southward across Massachusetts, to connect Rhode Island by way of Taunton River, a distance of about twenty-six miles. This canal has never been dug, although the plan has reappeared many times, but the Cape Cod Canal, at least realized, may be considered as, to a certain extent, a phase of the larger undertaking.

The opening of the great Erie Canal in 1825, revolutionized transportation from the Great Lakes to the sea, and laid the foundation of New York's supremacy as a commercial center. Naturally the example of the Erie, and its success, inspired many other canal projects. Notably, may be mentioned, one of interest to us of New England, that from New Haven to Northampton. It was chartered in 1822, was begun in 1825, was opened in 1827 as far as Farmington, Conn., in 1829 to Westfield, Mass., and in 1835 was completed to Northampton. That other wild and fantastic plan for a canal from Boston to the Hudson River never passed beyond the preliminary stage, although the first surveys for such a canal were made by no less an engineer than General Henry Knox.

John Brown, the well-known citizen of Providence, R. I., had been impressed with the coming importance of canal navigation as early as 1796, and even thus early recognized the value of a link between Providence and Worcester. His petition in 1796, to the Rhode Island Assembly, for an act of incorporation, was granted without opposition, but a similar petition from the inhabitants of

Worcester County, presented at the May, 1796, session of the Massaehusetts General Court, was met by a counter petition, that a canal be constructed from Boston to Worcester, and then on to the Connecticut. A canal from Worcester to Providence, it was believed, would naturally divert the business of Worcester County from Boston, where it seemed to belong, to Providence, in another state. Boston, through the Middlesex Canal, mentioned above, already controlled the commerce of the Merrimac Valley; she was now making sure of her control of Worcester County commerce. The supporters of the Boston-Worcester plan were so strong that they defeated in the Legislature the advocates of the Worcester-Providence undertaking. This policy of opposition postponed for nearly thirty years, therefore, a plan which would have meant much to the development of Central Massachusetts.

John Brown died, but the plan revived with the next generation. Business was expanding. Mill privileges along the Blackstone River were occupied by large manufactories. Transportation was demanded for all kinds of freight. The time had come when the canal was a necessity. Meetings were held in the Valley towns, and, in the spring of 1822, a committee of investigation was appointed. Funds were readily subscribed and preliminary surveys were made this very year, 1822, by Benjamin Wright, famous as the Chief Engineer of the middle section of the Erie Canal. An assistant of Mr. Wright's, Holmes Hutchinson, had personal charge of these surveys, which were completed in September, 1822, and were published in a full report of the whole question of a canal between Providence and Worcester, the grades, the number, location and nature of the locks, the matter of rainfall and evaporation, of possible feeders, and an estimate of the cost. These findings are well worth reading, since they embody the essentials soon to be put into effect. I quote briefly from it:

"Mr. Hutchinson, accompanied by some of the gentlemen committee, has completed a level over the route for the proposed canal, and they find the distance, by measure, 45 miles, as a canal would run, and the descent $45\frac{1}{2}$ feet from Thomas street in Worcester to the tide-water at Providence.

"The ground is remarkably favorable. The soil generally easy to excavate, the embankments neither large nor extensive—very little solid rock to be removed—the aqueducts and culverts not numerous or excessive. . . . "

"On viewing the country to be benefited by the Canal, taking into consideration its probable future growth and increase of trade, I have come to the conclusion that a canal 32 feet wide at the top, 18 feet at bottom, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet depth of water, would be the proper size to be formed; and that locks of 70 feet between the gates, and 10 feet in width, would be sufficiently large for the trade intended—bearing in mind a proper economy in use of water, and in erection of locks.

"The summit level being most deficient in water, it was found that North Pond, lying two miles northerly from the Court House in Worcester, was the principal source of the Worcester branch of the Blackstone River; and the pond is said to contain or cover a surface of about 100 acres, and an expense of \$1000 would make it cover 180 acres, by raising a dam 8 feet high and thereby retaining the floodwaters of the spring and summer.

"Admitting these premises, it is reduced to mathematical calculation that a superficial surface of 140 acres and 8 feet deep would give 48,787,000 cubic feet of water."

From the commencement of Thomas street in Worcester, to the outlet of Dority Pond in Millbury, a distance of about seven miles, Mr. Hutchinson very properly located locks of 6 feet lift each. "These locks would require 4200 cubic feet of water each time filled; and admitting that the casual falls of rain would make good the evaporation of North Pond, this reservoir would give 11,616 locks full of water, of six feet each."

After arriving at the outlet of Dority Pond in Millbury, near the Goodell Manufacturing Company's works, Mr. Hutchinson so formed his plan as to take the water of Dority Pond and locate locks below that point on 8 feet lift each. "These locks required 5600 cubic feet of water to fill them each time; and in order to obtain a full supply resort must be had to making Dority Pond a reservoir. It is believed that an expense of \$150 would form a dam to raise Dority Pond 10 feet higher than its present summer surface, and it would then contain or cover, according to estimation, at least 140 acres, which, at 10 feet depth, would give 60,984,000 cubic feet of water. This, added to the water of North Pond would give lockage water for 19,602 locks of eight feet lift each."

Thus the report went on, touching on all details of excavation, locks, etc., estimating the total distance as a little over 45 miles,

the total descent, as stated above, as $451\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the number of locks as 62, and the total cost as \$323,319.00.

Plans were suggested for wooden as well as for stone locks, although the latter material was ultimately adopted. Mr. Hutchinson even added a supplementary report on the construction of a canal from Lake Quinsigamond, or Long Pond, as it was then called, to the main canal from Worcester to Providence. But this project was never carried out.

Public opinion had now become so strongly in favor of the canal that opposition in the Legislature died out. In March, 1823, an act of incorporation was passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, and in June of that year a similar act by the Rhode Island Assembly. Some time naturally elapsed between the passing of these acts and the organizing of the corporation, the obtaining and filing of a careful survey of the route, the locating of the canal, securing subscriptions to the stock, adjusting damages and letting contracts for construction.

From its inception the canal was a Rhode Island enterprise, and more than half a million dollars was subscribed by residents of that state. A corporation to construct and carry on the canal had been organized in each state, but these were united in 1825 under the name of the Blackstone Canal Company, three commissioners being appointed from each state to manage the affairs.

Excavation was begun in Rhode Island in 1824. Under date of July 8, 1826, we find this entry in the diary of Isaiah Thomas: "This day the laborers first broke ground in Thomas St., in this town, for making the canal to Providence. In Rhode Island they have been employed on the canal several months."

The excavation was by the laborious method of pick, shovel and wheelbarrow, with plenty of horses and carts. But modern methods were unknown. The progress of the undertaking was noted from time to time in the daily or weekly papers. Says the *Aegis*, late in 1827: "All through the year 1827 the work on the Blackstone Canal has been prosecuted with busy industry. The heavy rains of spring and sudden tempest of autumn have certainly had an unfavorable effect upon the excavation, but much less than could reasonably have been expected. Some difficulties have been experienced by contractors abandoning their sections but in many cases much of such work has been relet advantageously. All the locks, the most

expensive and difficult parts of the canal, will be completed during the present year, and most of the excavations."

The three or four miles passing through Millbury were the most expensive of the entire construction. There were nine locks, eight in a distance of one and a quarter miles, taking care of a lift of eighty-seven feet. The average cost per lock was \$4,600.

The first of the canal boats to be built, the *Lady Carrington*, was finished in June, 1828. She was of the largest size that could be admitted to the locks, being 70 feet long, $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and as high as would admit of a safe passage under the canal bridges, but drawing only 18 to 20 inches.

The great head basin in Worcester was located between Thomas and Central streets, and there were smaller basins farther down the canal. As has been said, the route was approximately 45 miles long; there were 62 locks, which took care of the $451\frac{1}{2}$ feet of descent to Providence, the locks varying from six to eight feet in depth. The canal feeders were North Pond, Worcester, Dority Pond, Millbury, and various other ponds below. For much of the distance the canal followed the river, a low embankment forming a line of separation. But in spite of the feeders and in spite of the river, as a source of supply, there was from the first lack of water to fill the levels and locks. This lack of water was one cause of friction with the mill-owners along the stream, the latter feeling that water was being taken from their mill-wheels to fill the canal. And the fact that for miles the canal was really a part of the river, while it saved in cost of construction, brought about much trouble. Washouts were frequent, and excessive high water or excessive low water checked navigation on the canal.

The season of 1828, when the canal was nearing completion, was a wet one. The heavy rains interfered with the final touches. The last delay came in hanging the lock gates. These were heavy and difficult to place in position, and expectations of people along the line were disappointed again and again.

The first boat on the canal, as I have indicated, was the *Lady Carrington*, named for the wife of Edward Carrington, one of the Rhode Island commissioners. She was built in Providence, and was finished in quite palatial style, for the accommodation of passengers. On the first of July she started from tidewater in Providence on an excursion up the canal, the first trip ever at-

tempted. There was great enthusiasm along the route, cannon boomed and the cheering was continuous until she reached successfully the head of navigation at Albion Factory, ten miles away. On this first trip the passengers were His Excellency, the Governor of Rhode Island, two of the Rhode Island commissioners, and fifty citizens. Two horses formed the motive power, and a rate of four miles an hour was attained. Nine locks were passed in the ten miles to Albion Factory, about four minutes being required for the passage through each lock upward, and about three minutes for the passage downward.

The first boat which passed through the entire length of the canal arrived in Worcester, October 7, 1828. On that day Isaiah Thomas in his diary wrote: "First boat on the canal arrived at the basin in Thomas street from Providence, with a number of gentlemen passengers. Went on board with the Governor and a number of gentlemen; an address by Mr. Merrick, afterwards went to the Governor's with a number of gentlemen invited, who gave us very excellent entertainment of good eating and drinking."

This boat had been long expected. Cattle show came October 6th, and there was fervent hope that the first boat would come through by that date. On September 24th, the *Massachusetts Spy* had said: "We still have strong hopes that the whole line will be navigable before the time set for the Cattle Show, but the progress of the work is liable to so many contingencies from the weather and frequently from the occurrence of other unlooked for obstacles, that we should not be very much disappointed if it should prove otherwise."

When the first boat did come through the enthusiasm was great, even though the Cattle Show had passed.

On the 18th of October freight boats came as far as Uxbridge; on the 27th the *Lady Carrington* appeared in Worcester again, and left the following day heavily laden with butter, domestic goods, cheese, coal and paper. This coal, by the way, came from the coal mine near the Lake, and shortly after the opening of the canal a company was formed to build a railway, operated by horses, from the mine to the Thomas street basin. But this road was never built, although coal seems to have been for some time an article of export. And this coal was not without reputation in those days. Says the *Massachusetts Spy* of that time: "We saw yesterday an

excellent piece of the Worcester coal in a stove erected to burn that kind of fuel, in the store of T. & W. Keith of this town. It burned apparently as well as either Lehigh or Schuylkill coal, and produced a great heat. Great quantities have been taken from the mine recently, and the quality seems to improve, so that whatever doubts remained of its goodness and value appear to be mostly removed."

On the 8th of November six boats arrived deeply laden, and the business world was in a bustle of excitement. November 24th came a heavy fall of snow, but packet boats ran for some time later. Already the canal seemed to have realized fully the anticipations of its projectors, and enthusiasm and gratulations were everywhere. Said the *Massachusetts Spy* of November 19th, 1828: "A quantity of cherry plank and joist was landed in this town on the 17th from the canal boat, *Providence*, which grew in Michigan or Ohio, at the head of Lake Erie, from whence it was shipped down the lake to Buffalo, thence by the Erie Canal to Albany, from that place to Providence by sloop navigation, and from Providence to this place by the Blackstone Canal, a distance on the whole of at least 900 miles, four hundred of which is artificial navigation. It is thus that articles are made valuable in one section of the country, where otherwise there would be no market for them, and another section is supplied at a fair rate with that which it must otherwise do without, or buy at very exorbitant prices. Twenty years ago any man who should predict that the interior and central part of Massachusetts would now be supplied with lumber from the forests of Michigan would have been set down as a visionary enthusiast. Yet such glowing anticipation, if, indeed, anyone entertained it, has been fully realized. Such are the effects of the spirit of enterprise which the operation of free institutions infuses into a people."

But all was not easy sailing for the boatmen. Breaks in the embankments were frequent, and then the level in which the break occurred was closed for repairs, often for weeks. At times the mill owners along the canal, fearing loss of water or other encroachment on their rights, cut the embankments and let the water into the river, or, under cover of the darkness would dump a load of stone into a lock. Upon this obstacle the unsuspecting boatman would steer his craft, and find himself fast aground. But the boatmen were a resolute and hardy set of men and did not meekly submit

to this form of torment, and many a mill man kept watch and ward against a fiery retaliation.

Nor was the navigation of the quiet levels without the dangers of the high seas. In the *Spy* of December 8th, 1828, we read: "The *Lady Carrington* canal boat, on her way from Providence to this place, got out of her course in the pond this side of the Blackstone Factory on Saturday night, and struck upon a rock which injured her so much that she was obliged to discharge her cargo and return to Providence."

Although the growth of Worcester was greatly favored by the coming of the canal, as I shall show later, the town did not always fare well in the matter of transportation. There was a tendency on the part of the boatmen to carry cargoes to the towns nearer tidewater and discharge them there, hurrying back for more. Thus the towns at the upper end of the canal were left without service. Interruptions to traffic were frequent, as has been shown. And a merchant awaiting goods could hardly restrain his impatience at their non-arrival. Once at least the entire fleet was frozen in the ice from late fall until early spring, caught quite unprepared.

But canal navigation and extension were in the air. The growing country felt the need more than ever of means of transportation. The success of the Blackstone Canal encouraged other schemes. In February, 1829, a meeting was held in Whiting's Tavern, Sterling, at which it was voted unanimously to take the most efficient means possible for securing an extension of the Blackstone Canal to Nashua, the proposed route being partly in Lake Quinsigamond, thence by the river valley to the town named. But nothing ever came of the project.

The first winter of the canal was a severe one, but it weathered the storms and floods well. Navigation closed December 17, 1828, and the canal was opened April 24, 1829. Only minor repairs were found necessary. On the 13th of April, 1829, was launched the first canal boat built in Worcester, the *Washington*. Christopher Baldwin tells about it in his diary. The boat was built near the present site of the County Jail on Summer street, was placed on wheels and moved to the site of the present Union Station, where it was launched. There was a great concourse of spectators, and Hon. Emory Washburn delivered an address.

In the *Massachusetts Spy* of April 25th, 1829, we read of the

appointment of Anthony Chase, Esq., as agent of the canal in Worcester, also of the formal opening of the canal warehouse on Thomas Street. Says the *Spy* of this date: "There is a prospect of a full employment at present of all the boats on the Canal, which have now become considerably numerous. The lading and unlading of boats, the arrival of teams with freight to put on board of them, and the constant passing of trucks with goods brought by the boats to be delivered at different points in town, yesterday and the day before, presented scenes of activity and bustle in the vicinity of the head of the Canal which afforded a gratifying contrast with the appearance of the same place four years since when no improvements had been made, and when the land occupied now by the canal and basin, and where new streets, wharves, and warehouses are built, was used for a mowing field."

Before the canal was in actual operation many people had been skeptical of its success. But it seemed to be a success from the start. By it a new impetus was given to industry along the line of the canal, and land rose surprisingly in value. Freight charges for merchants and manufacturers in the Blackstone Valley towns and in Worcester, were lowered materially. For Worcester merchants there was a saving of \$3.80 on every ton brought into the city, and freight was sent from New York to Worcester by way of Long Island Sound and the canal from Providence, instead of by water to Boston and thence overland.

The canal was primarily a carrier of freight, passengers still making use of the stage coach.

On the 29th of May, 1829, the *Massachusetts Spy* published a list of subscribers to canal stock who had not paid their subscriptions. At first there had been a great rush for the shares. The story is told that the market for the stock being especially good in Providence, a post rider was despatched to Worcester to purchase certain shares said to have remained unsold in that town.

On the 29th of June, the *Lady Carrington* made the entire trip of 45 miles in fourteen hours, and it was believed that this time might be bettered by a more rapid moving team of horses. Under the rules of the company, however, no boat was to proceed at a rate exceeding four miles an hour. This was to prevent racing. No boat should start in the morning earlier than one hour after sunrise, and no boat should remain on its course later than one hour after sunset.

On the 4th of July, 1829, an excursion was run from Worcester to Millbury by the *Lady Carrington*, leaving Worcester at 6 A.M., returning at 9 A.M. But the boats were for the most part too busy with freight to waste any time. The canal did a good business in 1829; the tolls reached \$8,606. In 1830 they were \$12,016; in 1831, \$14,944; in 1832, \$18,907; in 1833, \$17,545. But in 1836 they dropped to \$11,500, and they fell steadily until the canal was finally closed in 1848. As it had cost about \$750,000, and there were numerous expenses connected with its operation, it may easily be figured out what financial return was available for the stockholders.

On the 11th of November, 1829, nine boats arrived in Worcester, all freight laden. In some weeks as many as twelve boats cleared for Worcester, or from that town. If they could not secure a good cargo here they could always drop down the valley to Northbridge or Uxbridge and take on a load of cordwood. And this many of them did. But there was a variety of articles transported on the canal that generally supplied cargo enough. Before the first excavation had been begun, a canvass was made of Worcester County towns, to ascertain the amount of heavy freight transported from each annually overland to Boston. The total was found to be more than 25,000 tons. I cite one example only, New Braintree. This town of 800 inhabitants sent down annually by wagon, 100 tons of cheese, 10 tons of butter, 75 tons of pork and 15 tons of cider, besides poultry and many other articles of provision. Fair promise of this of good business for the canal. And Carl, in his "Tour of Main Street," says: "Central Street had at that time but two or three houses upon both sides of it. It was the principal road from Main Street to the Canal basin, and the canal stores that stood around it. It was one of my early pleasures," he continued, "to go to the basin, and see the boats come up from Providence laden with flour, corn, salt, iron and other heavy articles with now and then a family of prodigiously large wharf rats for passengers. Chairs, chairs, everlasting in number, brought into town in large loads from the northern part of the county, seemed to me to be the principal loading of the boats down the canal."

Carl was observant and noted, doubtless, a staple of export. But the list was a full one. On the 24th of April, 1829, there came in the canal boat, *Rhode Island*, Captain James Slack, 120 casks of lime,

shipped by E. Harris of Providence, to D. Haywood, 188 Main Street, Worcester, the toll amounting to \$18.75. On the 27th of April, came two hogsheads of rum, one of molasses, one of New Orleans sugar, and five boxes of soap. Much ship timber was sent down, and among other articles transported in one direction or the other, we find oil, salt, wire, nails, brick, iron, tacks, cotton, logwood, alum, tobacco, figs, glass, mackerel, satinet, warp, brandy, snuff, lead in pigs, codfish, leather, plaster, lumber machinery, flour, coffee, corn, sugar, rum and gin. This is a varied list and proves that the canal would have been profitable in time had not the railroads solved anew the problem of transportation, and sounded the death knell of such canals as the Middlesex and the Blackstone.

Lincoln says in his history, that the canal was more useful to the public than it was to the stockholders. And it was useful in ways not at first apparent. It consumed water in its locks and levels, but it conserved water in its reservoirs and thus equalized the volume in the river to a certain degree, at all seasons, hence providing more and more uniform water power. Villages sprang up where none had been before, the growth in population was pronounced. When the canal was opened in 1828 three towns in this county surpassed Worcester in size namely, Lancaster, Brookfield and Mendon. With the opening of the canal the growth of Worcester went by leaps and bounds, while the other towns remained stationary or even retrograded.

In 1765 the population of Worcester was 1475; in 1775, it was 1925. During the war of the Revolution there was little growth. From 1790 to 1800, four hundred souls were added; from 1800 to 1810, one hundred and fifty; from 1810 to 1820, again four hundred, the total standing at 2962 in 1820. In 1825 we find a population of 3650; in 1830, 4172; in 1835, 6624, a leap of 3000 in ten years. Much of this growth must be ascribed to the coming of the canal.

The causes that led to the failure of the canal have been hinted at. They were, fundamentally, three in number. First, the location of a portion of the canal in the river. As a result of this, boats were often detained by high water, and also by low water, for weeks at a time. Secondly, the canal was in some years closed by ice for four or five months, and, one year at least, practically every boat on the canal was tied up thus by a premature freeze in early Novem-

ber. Thirdly, in time of drought, water was scarce even for the levels and locks, and this impeded navigation and transportation. These causes were inherent in the canal from the start. The grand, final cause, which nobody could have foreseen, was the coming of the railroad. This has worked the downfall of practically every canal undertaking in the country, with the striking exception of the Erie. The problem of the Erie was, and is, peculiar, and this case seems bound to remain successful for all time.

In 1820, Hon. William Foster of Boston, called a meeting of those interested in building a railroad from Boston to Providence. One man responded, and he came to deride the scheme as wild. On the 4th of June, 1834, a train ran from Boston over part of this very route, and shortly afterward over the entire distance. The Providence and Worcester Railroad was chartered in 1844. Trains began running between the two cities October 25th, 1847. The canal, long moribund, had received its death blow. The last toll, as far as Woonsocket, was collected November 9th, 1848.

The following spring the sale of canal property began. Warehouses, land, above all, the hewn stone in the sixty-two locks, were disposed of, the stone finding a ready market for building purposes. One still remains practically intact, in the woods below Millville. Not far away is another interesting monument, the milestone marking the 24th mile from Providence. For long distances the towpath can be detected, stretching along with lines as clearly cut as when the laborers threw out the soil almost a century ago, and with their spades shaped the corners of the embankment. But the locks will never be rebuilt, the levels will never again be filled for the passage of the slow-moving barges. The future holds much in store for canal navigation in this country, but not in the valley of the Blackstone. Its waters are harnessed to do a great work, perhaps in times to come they will supply the electric power that moves the cars along the rails of the Providence and Worcester Railroad; but the Blackstone Canal will remain simply a memory, recalled only when some stroller notes its physical remains, or the passengers on the railway mark the towpath crossing and recrossing the line of the road in regular curves, or when the antiquarian delving into the past recalls the mighty work of an earlier generation, and the place of this work in history.

A LITTLE ADVENTURE IN LOCAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by C. C. Ferguson, October 13, 1933

Almost every community has one or more devotees to the collecting of the ancient stone implements of Indians. These represent the oldest things in America formed by the hand of man. Made of stone and clay they are practically imperishable, and the cruder forms may date back even to the glacial age or before, thousands if not hundreds of thousands of years.

Though New England has been searched for these for more than a hundred years, as the great number of such relics in our museums shows, still enough are to be found to sustain the interest of the present-day collector.

Every plowing of the land and every falling of the waters in ponds and reservoirs brings to light new specimens and new sites. Wherever an Indian encamped, he renewed or increased his artifacts. In so doing he left the peculiar conchoidal chips broken off in making these fragments, and sometimes the implements themselves. Thus one cannot fail to recognize a site when uncovered or bared by plowing or by water. To the collector there is as much joy in finding a new site as there is to the archaeologist in Yucatan, Guatemala, or the Gobi Desert. He will spend time and labor in sun and rain in the hope of finding a few specimens that will cost him more than if he had bought equally good ones of a dealer.

For many years I have been collecting these implements in Massachusetts and earlier in Georgia. Nearly every town nearby in Worcester and Middlesex counties has been found to yield by its streams and lakes a greater or less harvest of these. It would take too long to enumerate the hundreds of different spots showing former Indian occupation. Sometimes scarcely a foot of the shores of some ponds at low water but shows such evidence. Grooved and ungrooved axes, gouges, pestles, hammerstones, chisels, gorgets, pendants, net sinkers, bannerstones, paint cups, pipes, moulds for pottery, fragments of clay and soapstone pottery, hoes, abrading stones, firestones, arrowheads, perforators, scrapers, knives, spearheads, etc., are all to be found, but the larger implements infrequently.

It was my good fortune a few years ago to have brought to my attention by Mr. Gahan, one of the speakers here tonight, a site in Wayland that had not been thoroughly searched before. My paper tonight will deal largely with what other collectors and I have found here as a result of digging and surface examination.

The location is on a high level bluff near Heard's Pond in Wayland. This pond is probably part of what was originally the course of the Sudbury River, and this site was then on the banks of this river. The land occupied extended fully half a mile along the shores of this pond and at least as far back from it. For the most part the land is nearly level and is made up of light gravelly glacial soil well suited for the cultivation of maize, beans and pumpkins. Here doubtless every year the Indians came in larger or smaller numbers and remained at least till after their harvesting. To our eyes five hundred or more years ago here there might have been presented a strange and stirring sight. In the narrow strip of trees along the bluff edge might have been seen the many wigwams with their gleaming campfires, the women grinding their corn for the evening meal in their stone mortars or scraping and curing the hides for new clothing or moccasins, the children shouting at their play or practicing at shooting their blunt arrows, the multitude of dogs, the only domestic animal of the Indians, barking, the old arrow maker chipping his arrowheads from his store of stone blanks to increase his supply or to provide a surplus for trade with Indians less provident or less skillful, other men pecking into shape and sharpening with sandstone gouges, celts, and axes, laboriously perforating with drill or hollow reed with sand, water or grease, bannerstones, or gorgets, or perhaps making a new birch bark canoe, or hollowing out a dugout by alternate use of fire and stone gouge. Some may have been making pots of clay and firing these or finishing others of soapstone. The Indian men may have been coming into camp laden with meat and skins from the successful hunt or loaded with spoils from a victorious foray against some enemy. The picture would have been much the same as Parkman saw in 1846 when he lived with the Sioux Indians, which he has depicted so vividly in his Oregon Trail.

Here we made our excavations with the kind permission of the owner, a French war veteran, Paul Germanprez. About half an acre of ground was dug over to the depth of a foot or more. In this area many evidences of former Indian life were found.

The firestones of the old Indian fireplaces were often found close together as they were originally placed, reddened with fire. The number of these seemed to indicate a large settlement, and the depth of the stones an old one, probably pre-Algonquin.

Over a dozen corn pits were found. These were usually about three feet in depth and nearly circular in shape, rounding at the bottom and about two feet wide. When the corn was harvested it was stored in these pits until ready for use. After the corn was removed, rubbish and ashes were thrown into the pits, which probably accounts for the dark color of the soil in their bottoms. The number of these seems to prove that the corn fields back of the wigwam sites must have been extensive. We probably opened up only a small part of all of the pits. No implements were found by me in any that I excavated.

Many hammerstones were found. These were mostly oval with the edges rounded and battered evenly over the whole circumference. A few were oblong and cylindrical, evidently used as pestles, and some also were of a hard flintlike stone roughly chipped all over. Only one was found with the center of both sides pitted, as some think for better holding with the fingers.

There were also several caches of leaf-shaped blanks which had been hidden away to be used later for making knives and arrowheads. The largest one contained twenty-eight pieces. The materials in the caches were felsite, rhyolite, quartzite, white quartz, and jaspellite. On some of these considerable work had already been done toward shaping them. Others were apparently just as they had been broken off at the quarry.

There were also many cores of quartz and felsite. It was from these that fragments were broken off with the hammerstones to make arrowheads. The remaining cores had probably become too small with successive chippings to be used for further blanks.

Fragments of clay pottery were quite common. These were nicely made, smooth inside and out and of a brownish color. The outsides were sometimes decorated with cross marks and designs and sometimes were plain. Many of the fragments must have been of large vessels. There were more pieces of clay pottery than of soapstone. In fact but two or three pieces of soapstone pottery were found. This probably means that there were no nearby outcroppings of soapstone from which to secure their

material. Around Worcester, owing to the near supply of soapstone in Millbury and Sutton, soapstone pottery fragments are much more common.

We dug up several so-called paint sticks of graphite. Most of these by their markings seemed to have been used for smoothing sinews, perhaps for bowstrings. They were probably also used for paint. One piece was long, slender and pointed, and could have been used as we use the lead pencil. Whether this came from the old Indian graphite mine in Sturbridge or from some nearer source of supply, I do not know. These are the only pieces of Indian graphite I have ever found.

The Indians used to set nets for their fishing, and anchored these in place with stone net sinkers. Some of these latter were very crude, being pebbles notched on two sides for attachment. Others had a groove all the way around, sometimes the long way of oblong pebbles and sometimes the short way. Sometimes the sinker was a flat pebble with a pecked hole in the center. More often they seem to have been very carefully pecked stones with nicely made knobs for attachment. This last type was the most common at Wayland, as several were found both on the surface and by digging. Several were in odd shapes, one looking something like a duck, the head being the knob. Some think because these knobbed sinkers were so nicely finished that they may have had some ceremonial purpose and have been suspended from the neck. These sinkers or pendants are found nearly all over the country wherever the Indians lived, and are quite common in Massachusetts. They are of all sizes, some even weighing several pounds. They were no longer used at the coming of the white men.

Such large implements as pestles, grooved axes, celts and gouges are no longer often found, as these, the easiest to see, have long ago been picked up by collectors. Only rarely does one find a grooved axe or pestle. Celts and gouges are more common, and of these gouges are the most likely to be found. In Wayland we secured no celts and only one grooved axe, a nicely polished small one. This indicates, I am told, a very old site, probably pre-Algonquin. Gouges, however, were not uncommon. About twenty-five must have been obtained, these ranging from about two and one half inches to six inches in length. On nearly all the cutting edge was sharp and apparently when laid away had been recently ground.

So perfect indeed are these edges that one can hardly believe that they have lain in the ground hundreds of years. They seem to be made of a hard flint-like hornstone, or basanite or greenstone, and have been laboriously pecked into shape all over before grinding. Many of them by their battered ends or edges show they have been hammered when used in removing charred wood in the making of dugouts and wooden utensils. Most of them were attached to a handle which had long ago rotted away. Of all stone implements, these are the most peculiar to our New England Indians, as they are rarely found in other parts of the country.

The Indians had many ceremonial artifacts such as gorgets, banner-, boat- and birdstones whose uses have long since been forgotten. These are for the most part very carefully made, beautifully polished and shaped, and usually perforated either by the use of a stone drill or, in the case of the bannerstones which have larger holes, by the use of a hollow reed or stalk. This latter in making the hole removed a core. The process must have been a very slow and laborious one. The stone used was often very hard, the hole at least a half inch in diameter and sometimes over two inches long. Wood or stone turning in grease and sand would make slow progress in these.

Only fragments of bannerstones were found representing several different types, the so-called butterfly kind with its perforated center, the nicely polished rectangular style with also a central perforation, and another sort flat on one side and rounding on the other with a long central perforation. These perforations were probably for the insertion of staffs on which they were borne in processions as maces. Whole specimens of the bannerstones are rarely found, as they usually have been broken by action of frost.

Only one whole gorget was found and this not perforated as they usually are. It was large, rectangular and nicely finished. Probably the holes had not yet been made when it was laid away. These gorgets were so highly esteemed that when the Indians died they were placed on their breasts in burial, and so have been called breastplates.

Several earrings, so-called, were found. Of these I have two, one oblong with notched edges, thin, with a hole near the tapering end, the other nearly round, thin, the edges smooth, a hole in the center. These may have been worn from the ears or the neck or have been a part of a necklace.

There are several kinds of small chipped implements made by the Indians, scrapers for removing flesh, etc., from hides preparatory to curing, perforators for making holes in wood or stone, knives for cutting, spearheads for attachment to long staffs for throwing or striking, and arrowheads for attachment to the arrowshafts for shooting game or enemies with the bow. All these were found in greater or less numbers at Wayland, the spearheads, perforators, and scrapers least common and the arrowheads most common. They were all of the same materials, quartz, quartzite, felsite, jaspellite, flint, jasper, slate and trap. The most common were of white quartz, yellowish quartzite, and felsite. Jasper and flint were not common.

The longest spearhead, of quartzite, was six inches in length. Several others between three and six inches long were found. The scrapers had a broad cutting edge at the end. A few had notched bases for handle attachment, but most were without this, though they also were probably attached to handles for more convenient use.

The perforators varied from half an inch in length to about three inches. These had long slender shafts chipped so as to be three or four sided to cut better in boring. The bases were usually flat and wide so that they would not turn in their handles, for they were used somewhat as our gimlets are and with similar handles. These perforators were also used as arrowheads. The most of those found, judging from their sharp points, had never been used, at least as perforators.

The knives may be distinguished from the arrowheads in several different ways. Usually they are not symmetrical, the cutting edge being longer. Often they are very crude and have only one side chipped to a cutting edge. Sometimes they are hardly more than fragments or large chips with such an edge. More rarely they are semilunar and are then large, nicely polished, with a ground edge on the circular side. These may be several inches long and were attached and used much as the chopping knives of our grandmothers. Fragments of several large ones of slate were found and one small perfect one. The latter, Mr. Willoughby of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge calls the smallest he has ever seen. These semilunar knives were used by the women and hence were called squaw knives. The other kinds of knives, par-

ticularly those well finished, were attached to the ends of handles much the same as the blades of paring knives.

The stone arrowheads, of which more than four hundred were found, showed fine workmanship, great variety of form, practically every kind of material used by New England Indians, and all sizes and lengths from half an inch to spearhead length or about three inches. The very uniform skill in workmanship seems to indicate that some few Indians must have made almost all of these. There was a predominance of white quartz used. The arrowheads of this material were either narrow and slender and sharp pointed or triangular with the bases plain, concave or convex. There were many also of the other materials previously enumerated, particularly of quartzite and rhyolite. The largest were of jaspellite, quartzite, rhyolite and flint. Many of these arrowheads appear never to have been used, so sharp and perfect are they. Whether they were lost in the making or were cached for future use or both, we may not know. Practically every one of the many shapes and kinds of arrowheads was found. Besides the slender and triangular already mentioned, there were leaf shaped, stemmed, barbed, serrate, diamond shaped, awl shaped, with bases notched, with bases triple notched, unsymmetrical. The color range was from green through white, brown, yellow, reddish, pink, banded, spotted, black and gray.

These arrowheads were all made to attach to the end of the slender arrowshaft which was notched or split or hollowed out for such insertion. They were fastened in with rawhide and glue.

Many broken arrowheads were obtained, but only two parts were found that fitted together.

Chips which are broken off in the making of arrowheads, etc., seem to be relatively scarce, which would indicate that most of the Indian artifacts must have been made elsewhere and brought here from other camping grounds.

Many crude stone hoes for planting were found, but only one of these had polished edges. This last one also had one end shaped like an animal's head.

Other implements were found that cannot be grouped under the foregoing classes. Some of these were crude, and one cannot determine whether they were rejects in making or had definite uses.

So far we have found no graves, though the light sandy soil

seems favorable for an Indian cemetery. It is possible that these Indians did not bury their dead, as Moorehead thinks may have been the case of those along the Merrimac River. As the Indian in burying the dead, placed in the grave also favorite weapons and other valued belongings for the spirit to have as it journeyed to the Happy Hunting Grounds, graves are earnestly sought for the fine artifacts that were long ago placed in them.

This search for the remains of the Indian culture of long ago has all the fascination and lure of discovery, for we never know what may turn up. What an illuminating light would be thrown on the history of this ancient village, could the artifacts talk and tell what they have seen of the life and adventures of their former owners! "Would some power the giftie gie us" to see in them the story they cannot tell us!

TOOLS, TRADES AND AN HONEST LIVING IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND

Read before the Worcester Historical Society
by U. Waldo Cutler, October 19, 1934

You may recall a cartoon in the *Boston Herald* of some time ago, called "A Comparison." A husky individual in shirt-sleeves, with features like Abraham Lincoln's, is climbing up a rocky slope with axe on his shoulder and "Pilgrim's Progress" in his hand. His way leads through a hazy atmosphere labeled "Rugged Individualism." Below, on what is marked by a sign-post "Government Highway," is a younger man in trim, buttoned-up overcoat who is trying to thumb his way along toward an easier existence, with his suitcase marked "Problems of our Generation." Overlooking, for present purposes, what may have been the political significance of this cartoon, is it to be interpreted as honest, old-fashioned independence versus hanging on to an easy job by means of Government patronage? At any rate it suggests what I would like to discuss with you tonight. Perhaps my topic is "Signs and Symbols of a Wholesome Existence Then and Now." Perhaps it is "A Historical Museum as Interpreter of an Honest and Wholesome Social Order." Perhaps, after all, to the listener's point of view it will turn out to be something quite different from what I intend, but please know at the outset that tools and the industries they stand for have furnished me interesting topics for study of late, particularly in their connection with the character they reveal or develop in the user of those tools and in the community of workers. "Tools, Trades and an Honest Living in Early New England" is the title I have authorized for the call of this meeting of a Society that, sixty years ago was dreamed of as doing much to unify and glorify the common life of this venerable city of Worcester.

Dr. Richard Cabot, in his book "What Men Live By," names Work, Play, Love and Worship as the elements making up life. For all of these fundamental interests some means toward the desired end are required; for the first three at least, tools of some sort are necessary. Roughly speaking tools are means for attaining some desired end—unfortunately not necessarily some desirable end. Burglars, assassins and kidnapers use tools. As we usually

think of them, tools are the means for the practice of some occupation as a livelihood. In studying the tools of an age or of a particular industry we are studying the conditions of existence in home or community. In a historical museum made up largely of tools or implements of some sort, we need not think of ourselves as surrounded by just a collection of mere curious, quaint, detached, individual objects brought together to amuse the otherwise idle visitor. We are there in the midst of sources of history; we have about us the means for the study of economics, sociology, ethnology—perhaps of art and religion. A carpenter is known by his chips, we say. Better, he is known by the tools he invents or finds for the making of those chips, and by the idea or the ideal in the mind of the worker himself. One of the homely stories of my childhood may apply here. A fond father sat before the fire with the suitor for the hand of his daughter. The young man was whittling, and the father asked, "What are you making?" "Oh, nothing in particular—just whittling." "Then you can't have my daughter," said the parent. "Just whittling arrives nowhere. If you whittle, it ought to be with some worth-while purpose." A thrifty, honest New England worker made his tools, many of them at least, made them well, and he had a definite purpose in making them. If he introduced an element of beauty in his design, as he often did, that only heightened the joy in utility—joy in his work. "Art is the expression of joy in work."

The worker made his own tools, often times, but the tools made him—not only his living but more than that—his character as developed through using the tools he designed and made. They made the man himself in a way and to an extent that may be easily missed by a modern workman who carries out a single part of a complex process on a machine he did not himself produce. "Everyone is a debtor to his profession," is a familiar saying which used to be true, but is doubtfully so now-a-days. "Man is handmade," was an expression of Dr. Stanley Hall, meaning that the human race worked its way up from brute instinct to human intelligence through *learning by doing* with its hands. This has certainly been true in the higher stages of development during the tool age of the race.

In collecting and organizing a historical museum of tools and trades we are, then, providing means for the study of an important

department of history—the study of the most significant way which an advancing civilization has found for expressing *itself*—that is through livelihood. To conserve such a resource is to create real value for the future. In this work of conservation I think we shall be much aided by the newly organized “Early American Industries Association,” formed last year in Northampton for promoting interest in tools and their uses. The best way to classify a collection of tools has recently been a topic for discussion in the “Chronicle,” the publication of this young society, and it has been a theme for some personal correspondence in our own office. At last report one long established and well recognized museum had 25,000 different tools listed in its collection as material for the exercise of classifier’s skill and historian’s study. Each museum will find its own best method of arrangement and of classification of such material, but in any collection some degree of organization, some plan of grouping would seem necessary for fullest enjoyment and for fullest educational value—a plan whether by chronological development, by occupational purpose, by material entering into the construction, by origin, or by some other scheme of arrangement.

But you say we are living in a machine age, not an age of tools as such. Why talk about collections of tools that are only those simple, primitive devices that belong to an age long past? The Indians had tools—those crude, one-piece shapes chipped out of stone; but we live in a different age, a time when a representative man is a master of a many-pieced *engine*—he is a person whose arm is lengthened to the range of a powerful field-piece, not limited to that of the flight of an arrow, and whose blow is strengthened to the force of a dynamite explosion, not limited to the power of a chipped-out stone hammer. Results are what we want—big things to play with, big things to trade in, things to make life easy, exciting, luxurious. As a result of this often perverted ambition for big things, the machines that produce such articles of destruction or of wastefulness are in danger of becoming the idols of an ease-loving, pleasure-seeking age. And yet tools continue to be the primary means for producing those powerfully complex implements that now-a-days perhaps cut the hay crop, grind the corn, weave the cloth, in place of the scythe and the mill-stone and the family hand-loom—old-fashioned things that many now are inclined to throw aside as fast as they can be replaced by those devices that

bring quicker results, but this with lessened opportunity for the exercise of personal thought and taste and for individual control of hand and eye and brain. To study a museum like ours, to know all the successive stages of industrial development leading up to present conditions, to catch even at second hand something of the thrill of original discovery and invention, to live over again the experience of a hard-working, industrious, home-loving, painstaking, earnest, faithful age, is not alone entertaining in a time of leisure acquired or enforced—it is highly educative as well, just because all the Past lives in all the Present and moves with the Present into the Future; it is all the more educative because the lessons from the Past cannot be ignored, however much we wish to escape from the Past's moral earnestness and its exacting thrift. Signs and symbols and records and examples out of this still vital Past are alive with suggestions for an awakened mind and responsive emotions.

To collect the tools of past generations and to classify them and to understand their purpose is certainly at least an interesting hobby. To learn and to record the facts of history is, of course, profitable in itself. But there is an even keener pleasure, I think, to be found in the search after the underlying thought or aspiration or motive in designing the tool, in finding an artistic or social ideal that entered into the conditions surrounding a historical event, or that led up to an individual discovery or recovery or that revealed some evidence of painstaking thought or some originality of expression on tool or implement or machine. Why was the handle of an old-time broad axe always made with that bend in it? Why was the crowing rooster a favorite design for a weather vane rather than a ship or a whale or a cow? Why was time wasted on dental work along the eaves of a farmhouse or on the mantelpiece of the Colonial mansion? Why did our foremothers waste time in making so many useless wreaths or bouquets or jewelry out of the hair of their friends, or patchwork bed-quilts in log-cabin or some other intricate pattern? Why was the human race in earlier or later generations born with an instinct for the refinements of life when food and clothes are really all we need?

But the tool users of earlier generations had some idea, as we think we do, that beauty needs no apology for being—that art in some form and degree is a part of honest, earnest self-expression.

In spite of all the slurring remarks of our time, the forefathers were not so grimly, coldly utilitarian as some try to believe. Sentiment is only human, and need not be and has not been in the past avoided for fear of sentimentality.

Before inviting discussion of these rambling thoughts and of what you perhaps think fantastic conceptions of the value of "old junk," I would like to make reference to two or three instances where past and present are being recognized as having interests and purposes in common.

In the historic old Harlow house in Plymouth there may be seen a practical demonstration of a few of the old-time industries by means of the very tools made and used by the people who were the founders of our traditions. A modern Priscilla in appropriate costume is prepared to card and spin and weave through all the complex details from the sheaf of raw flax or uncarded wool to the finished cloth. On special days, according to an announced programme, other industries are illustrated in appropriate manner—candle making, soap making, dyeing, and others—always in the historic spirit of thrift, orderliness and grace. Only a few of the domestic or household arts are included in this particular effort at re-living an honorable and worthy existence, but the idea can be widely extended and made educationally profitable, with the physical and psychological equipment available.

At Philadelphia, in the great Commercial Museum a similar result is attained over a wider range, especially for the more modern industries and by means of life-sized models elaborately and ingeniously devised and set up. There are numerous other historic houses and historical museums in New England and beyond, that to some extent and in diverse ways demonstrate to us of the Present the spirit and purpose under which our ancestors did their pioneer work; but a mere collection of curious things out of the Past can not serve the real end I have in mind. There must be studied organization of these mere *things*, and there must be some sort of individual, human, interpretation by a sympathetic and historically minded personality in order to give life to those dead *oddities*.

It is not alone the livelihood of a single individual or of a single family that I have in mind as I study occupational development as one common experience for all honest strugglers whether in the Past, the Present or the Future. There is a social aspect to the

matter that must not be overlooked. I have in mind a shapeless fragment of bronze—a mere lump too small to be worth recasting into something useful, something *practical*. I place this in the favoring soil of a museum in order to let it sprout, if it will. Perhaps it may be bearing fruit of a sort some how, some day. It is a piece of an old bell that a hundred years ago was ringing out over its little town from the roof of one of those old New England academies upon the "Acropolis" just above. It was picked up from among the ruins of the dignified building that was burned to the ground in one of those years of another period of depression that followed the Civil War.

A bell swinging in its belfry—is it a *community* tool or a *community* machine, like a community fire engine or water supply? At any rate, if not a tool, it is a product of tools, and it was made for the specific purpose of accomplishing some desired *public* or *social* result. It is a symbol of an ordered community life, and as such it deserves representation, even if only by that fragment of bronze, in a museum maintained to help us to relive the community's life-story. That school bell, like all those bells early placed on New England churches, has steadied and regulated the life of the town down the generations. It has had its definite part as an educator of the people toward an orderly, intelligent, and therefore a thrifty and effective and happy existence together. I must not stop more than to suggest in this general way all that bells have stood for in a social order that ever since history began has been struggling, often against great odds, toward the expression or the realization of all that is best in life—sympathy, thrift, reverence, loyalty. From its exalted position above the roof of church or school the historic bell still to some extent sets the pace, even if to a lessened degree, for the onward march of a community's life and of the social order generally. At this moment I vividly recall that in my boyhood the custom had not fully gone out of tolling the bell to publish throughout a whole circle of towns the news of the passing out of life of the town's people. How we paused in awe at our work to count the strokes, one for a man, two for a woman, and then in slow succession the solemn toll of years of the departed citizen and neighbor. Then there was the proclaiming abroad, the publication, of some great public calamity or national joy. Some of us may recall the awful sadness in the tones when the President

came to his tragic end in April of 1865. The very vibrations of the metal were eloquent, though inarticulate. The town bell almost talked in those wireless times while still the invention of S. F. B. Morse had not become a commonplace. Socialization was not so lacking as we have thought, alongside the now unpopular rugged individualism of an older New England. That individualism often suggests its ultimate socializing purpose in the inscription cast into the tool itself,

“I to the church the living call,
And to the grave do summon all.”

Many other historic bell inscriptions will suggest themselves to those at all familiar with the extensive literature of bells and belfries.

On the New England church spire, above the bell, was the weather vane, and beneath it the town clock—two other signs of well-regulated town life in days when time and weather were not subjects for daily report by radio. Like bells, weather vanes have a peculiarly significant place in the studies and the collections of a historical society. A well made timepiece, such as were Abel Stowell's doubtless, does far more than merely to measure off the hours. It regulates the pulse, steadies the nerves, organizes the life course of its owner and of the whole social order. Whether we call it a tool or a machine, a sign or a symbol, a weather vane also is far more than a glistening ornament or a friendly guidepost to an early traveler from village to village through the forests and over the hills of our ancestors. In those days when a weather vane on the church steeple was an essential feature of every smallest town, agriculture was the leading industry, perhaps the only one. To be able to forecast the weather was a prime requisite for successful farming, and the significance of the way of the wind was an important part of weather wisdom. The Almanac, earliest form of American printing, tried to be helpful in these ways, but the Almanac had its limitations, particularly in weather forecasting. One glance at the weather vane was worth more than all the prognostications put together of the columns of Robert B. Thomas or his predecessors in that complex science of almanac computation. The New England churches have often been criticized as being unmindful of the material interests of the struggling community,

but they should have due credit for this practical and early effort to aid in everyday concerns of the town by means of the weather vane, the clock and the bell at the central rallying place of all the inhabitants. All three of these community tools, machines, appliances, combined to help industry, to protect life and property, to regulate and organize all common interests, to welcome, to warn to encourage, to guide and educate amid all life's vicissitudes.

Old tools, then, whether individual or socialized, are not such dead things out of a dead past. They are alive with present-day human interest, even if the hands that used them passed out of life long ago. Tools are signs and symbols of life's chief blessing, its chief resource, its chief means toward its chief end—character as best interpreted in livelihood. And tools are not necessarily connected with individual existence alone. They are folksy, social, if we show ourselves interested enough to draw out the story they can tell. Some of them are tools of a whole community at its best, and suggest their character in their very faces. Such is the town clock. Others, like the town bell, have been sounding out the story of a whole town's experiences for generations.

So let no one call a historical museum of tools and trades a dead issue. It lives for and with all whose senses are acute enough to catch the important and interesting message to us the heirs of all past generations of workers in all the varied lines of life and livelihood.

WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Annual Report of the Treasurer, June 7, 1934

To the Members of the Worcester Historical Society—

The Treasurer respectfully submits his report as of May 31, 1934.

The Society has operated this last year with a deficit of \$33.70. All bills are paid. It is obvious, of course, that expenses have been reduced to a minimum, but service to the community has been maintained.

Total income for the year ending May 31, 1934 amounted to \$2,966.40, comparing with \$2,969.90 for the preceding year. Income from Membership dues amounted to \$910.00 against \$909.00.

Total expenses amounted to \$3,000.10, against \$2,856.56 the year before. This increase is accounted for by the fact that an expense of \$258.50 was incurred in order to issue Publication No. 6. Up to within a few years the Society carried on its books a "Publication Fund," which took care of the printing of Publications. This fund has since been exhausted, so that it is now necessary to expend this money from our annual income.

Interest or dividends are being paid on all securities owned by the Society, except,

\$500.00 income bond Worcester Transportation

Associates carried on our books at \$100.00.

5 shares Worcester Transportation Associates
carried at \$0.00.

We received \$500.00 from the Frances C. Morse Estate during this period, which has been credited to the General Fund.

There has been no change in our security holdings during the year, except that \$1,000.00 U. S. Govt. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ % Bond of 1938 was called for payment, and the same amount reinvested in \$1,000.00 U. S. Govt. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ % Bond of 1946.

Attached is an itemized report, with list of securities owned, and of the different "Funds," which you are invited to read, if you so desire.

Because of the death of Mr. Samuel D. Spurr, who was Auditor of the Society, the Treasurer requested Mr. Cutler to examine the

securities held by him. This has been done and Mr. Cutler has certified that he has examined all the securities of the Society and found them as stated and properly accounted for.

The books of the Treasurer are now in process of being examined by an Accountant, and his certification is expected very soon.

Respectfully submitted,

Dwight S. Pierce,
Treasurer

**WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TREASURER'S REPORT**

For the Fiscal Year Ending May 31, 1934

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Principal (May 31, 1933)	\$64,313.97
Newton Estate	1.70
Frances C. Morse (legacy)	500.00
	<hr/>
	\$64,815.67

INCOME ACCOUNT

Interest on Permanent Funds	\$1,947.40
Membership Dues	910.00
Incidental Income, including gifts	109.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,966.40
	<hr/>
	\$67,782.07

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	\$1,240.00
Printing	522.10
Oil	367.38
Gas and Electricity	34.31
Cleaning	147.00
Postage and Supplies	53.58
Telephone	61.30
Insurance	349.87
Miscellaneous Expense	221.06
Expended from Chapin Fund	3.50
	<hr/>
	3,000.10
	<hr/>
	\$64,781.97

ASSETS

Real Estate	\$27,900.00
\$5,000 U. S. Govt. 4½s 1938	4,983.88
1,000 U. S. Govt. 3½s 1946	1,000.00
2,000 Appalachian Power Co. 5s 1941	1,830.00
3,000 Canadian National Rwy. 5s 1969	2,992.50
1,000 City of Toronto 6s 1937	1,040.00
2,000 City of Toronto 5s 1942	1,963.18
2,000 City of Winnipeg 5s 1943	1,950.00
1,000 Conn. River Power Co. 5s 1952	999.25
250 Eastern Mass. St. Ry. 6s 1948	250.00
5,000 Eastern Mass. St. Ry. 4½s 1948	3,500.00
1,000 Narragansett Elec. Co. 5s 1957	957.50
1,000 Nevada-California Elec. Corp. 5s 1956	955.00
1,000 New England Power Ass'n. 5½s 1954	960.00
3,000 Northern Pacific Ry. 6s 2047	3,100.00
2,000 Oklahoma Natural Gas Corp. 5s 1948	1,920.00
500 Oxnard Drainage District No. 2 6s 1939	500.00
1,000 Southern Calif. Edison Co. 5s 1939	1,000.00
500 Worcester St. Rwy. 5s 1947	500.00
500 Worcester Transportation Associates 6s 1952	100.00
25 shrs. American Tel. & Tel. Co.	2,850.00
50 shrs. First Nat'l. Bank of Boston	1,875.00
5 shrs. Worcester Transportation Associates common	0.00
Savings Bank Deposits	1,049.94
Cash on hand, May 31, 1934	605.72
	\$64,781.97

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

General Fund (Unrestricted)	\$21,082.33
Restricted Funds:	
Eliza Daniels Dodge Fund	\$3,000.00
Thomas H. Dodge Fund	300.00
Charlotte S. M. Downes Fund	2,730.75
Frank E. Williamson Fund	1,000.00
Hester N. Wetherell Fund	4,000.00
Chapin Fund	500.00
Obadiah B. Hadwen Fund	1,000.00
George M. Rice Fund	3,218.95
Benjamin S. Newton Fund	49.94
	15,799.64
 Society's Home	
	\$36,881.97
	27,900.00
	\$64,781.97

Bequests and gifts of \$100.00 and more to the Society's Invested Fund:

Katherine Allen	\$2,000.00
Albert Curtis	2,000.00
Eliza Daniels Dodge	3,000.00
Thomas H. Dodge	300.00
Charlotte S. M. Downes	2,000.00
Charles B. Eaton	100.00
Lyman A. Ely	5,000.00
Obadiah B. Hadwen	1,000.00
Nathaniel Paine	200.00
Eliza Draper Robinson	200.00
Stephen Salisbury	5,000.00
Hester Newton Wetherell	4,000.00
Frank E. Williamson	1,000.00
George M. Rice	3,000.00
Charlotte E. W. Buffington	500.00
Harry W. Goddard	500.00
Corwin W. Thayer	250.00
Chapin Fund	500.00
Bliss Estate	300.00
Fowler Estate	5,617.11
Frances C. Morse	500.00

Worcester, Massachusetts, June 4, 1934

I hereby certify that I have caused a thorough examination and audit to be made of the accounts of Dwight S. Pierce, Treasurer, and that I have examined all the securities and find them as stated and properly accounted for.

U. Waldo Cutler,
Executive Director

Worcester, Massachusetts, June 4, 1934.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the Worcester Historical Society made up for the year ending May 31, 1934, and find same to be correct.

Harry I. Spencer,
Accountant

Annual Report of the Clerk

Members June 1933	307
New members admitted during the year	14
	—
	321
Deaths	15
	—
	306

No member of the society has been dropped during the year because of non-payment of dues although there are a very considerable number whose dues are unpaid for one or more years. The Executive Committee has fully recognized that this is largely due to the economic conditions existing. It is however, highly desirable that some action be taken by the society to enable those members who are in arrears and who wish to continue their membership to do so.

Those members whose deaths were reported during the year are:

Charles A. Barton	Waldo Lincoln
Mrs. Edwin Brown	Henry A. McGowan
Mrs. A. George Bullock	Wm. H. Sanford
George T. Dewey	Samuel D. Spurr
Mrs. George A. Gaskill	Mrs. Robert L. Whipple
Mrs. Emma D. Harris	Wm. Woodward
Frederick A. Hawes	Burton H. Wright
Mrs. Leonard P. Kinnicutt	

WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Annual Report of the Director, June 7, 1934

An institution founded two generations back for the purpose of preserving and studying the records and reminders of the past—what can such a society have worth reporting to an Annual Meeting of a diminishing membership of people crowded already with present-day interests and responsibilities? And yet the Past is inescapably building itself into the Present of Worcester, and your achievements here during the last twelve months are only studies of the most recent accretions on the great coral-reef of Worcester's history, but they are therefore of great importance just because of the critical Future. We as a Society are modern in our spirit and purpose. It is only the material with which we work that is old.

The old-time hitching post given us by Henry Ford has been torn out of its setting as a part of the Out-of-Doors Museum, and carried off—*stolen* to maintain some wood-pile or to adorn some relic hunter's sanctum. That's certainly modern.

One recent visitor thought, as some uninformed moderns do, that a historical museum must be a quiet, restful place—just the place in which to sleep off the effects of excessive drinking. That's modern too. He soon became nervous, however, in such an unwonted environment, and went out without being invited to do so, unlike many of our guests, who come rather indifferent, and leave surprised and regretful long after regular closing hours.

The number of registered visitors from June 1, 1933, to May 31, 1934, was 1760. This includes school groups and adult groups, but not attendants at the regular meetings.

Very many people, seeking repose of conscience under domestic responsibilities, relief from the care of family heirlooms on moving into smaller quarters, burdened by excessive house-cleaning, or lured away by the compelling modern opportunities for amusement, are practicing conservation by adding their family treasures to our collections. Here again we are in step with the times. This escape from homely toil marks an evident trend of modern sociology. Most of the year's gifts, however, have come to us out of a real desire to help on our work of building up this reservoir of source-material for the use of future students and historians. Many other

evidences might be cited that show that your membership dues serve to maintain a vital connection with the crowded, eager present—a connection with the system of institutions that make up socialized Worcester as we know it today.

In the year from June 1, 1933, to May 31, 1934, the Society has received 120 accessions to the Museum and 132 to the Library, including manuscripts.

A few examples from the long list of entries in the accession books must suffice for the purposes of this report as follows:

Seven excellent family portraits from the homestead of Hon. W. W. Rice.

Samuel Jennison's poem of 1855 inscribed to the Rooster Weather Vane of the Old South Church at the time it was taken down for re-gilding.

The family foot-warmer of the Harvard Street Greens, once used in the Court Hill Church.

The Model, made to scale, of the First Town Hall of Worcester.

A number of Worcester books from the collections of the late William Woodward.

A number of interesting relics taken from Jefferson Davis' desk in the Confederate Capital at Richmond just before his flight.

The account books of Anthony Chase.

Sitting Bull's Tepee Poles.

The Vital Records of several more Massachusetts towns, as published by the Essex Institute.

The family cradle from the home of Dr. Aaron Bancroft.

A copy of the smallest book in the world.

Such are only a few, to suggest the variety of items steadily coming in to build up our valuable collections.

Within the limits of its present resources the Worcester Historical Society seems to be fulfilling its purpose. The membership grows somewhat ragged, to be sure—due to deferred payments and fewer supporters—the natural results, perhaps, of the passing of many old and valued members and the ravages of the depression among the younger); but we welcome several new members to take a part of the vacant places.

It may be a source of satisfaction to you to know of some recognition given to our annual April publication, by letter and spoken word, as partial compensation for the study and care and cost involved. In consideration of all the effort and pains put into it by those who furnish the different articles, it is for the members to indicate whether they consider its continuance worth while. Do you read it? Do you value the incentive it gives for individual study and fresh research? Do you recognize its significance as a means of publicity among our widely scattered exchanges and among our own members who never learn of our work at first hand?

One meeting has necessarily been omitted from our usual eight, but the other seven have been of high quality, and the growing attendance shows that we, in our own particular manner, can compete, not without some success, with other popular attractions in our own corner of the city.

The marked advance in popular recognition of the place of Worcester's own history in the scheme of public education accounts to some extent for our many interested and interesting visitors during the year, but school children are by no means our only patrons nor is the better organized museum our only attraction. The now well organized library in its various departments will draw more and more students and more letters of inquiry as its resources are better understood. A recent visit from a non-resident grandson of the author of "Carl's Tour" and the many questions about local history and family genealogy from distant as well as near-by sources, would serve as examples in point, if you cared at this time for a more detailed report. Clark University students have been here in numbers during the year; many organizations have come in a body; people from near and far have shown conclusively the recreative and the educational possibilities of our building through our keeping it open and free and safe as a great highway between the secure Past and the hazardous Future.

Summing up our various ways as an institution of meeting the community's needs—open-house, meetings, correspondence, conservation of sources of history, publications—we may take satisfaction in what is now in way of accomplishment, and may hope for larger means for carrying on further the task assumed for us by the founders of 1875 and by later builders upon their good substructure.

This report, suggestive only, rather than detailed, of our year's

work, must not be closed without some word of recognition of the only slightly paid but effective service of Mr. Colegrove, librarian almost since the beginning of the period of reorganization; Dr. Lincoln who has erected for himself an enduring monument in the Manuscript Section of our library; Mr. Whitman for a part of the year as Assistant Director; Mr. Eames as artist and advisor at large; Miss Reid, office secretary; and Mrs. Lambert, whose industry and appreciation in keeping the building clean and orderly are often commented on—all these could add materially to the value of this report if you were not soon to be occupied with the special, unique feature of the evening's program to follow.

This fragment of a report is respectfully submitted.

U. Waldo Cutler,
Director

